



**FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE**

JPRS Report

East Europe

East Europe

JPRS-EER-88-066

CONTENTS

16 AUGUST 1988

POLITICAL

BULGARIA

State Decree on Function of Ministries	1
Control Committee Chief on Glasnost, Journalism	6
Youth Leader on Organization, Policy	10
New Statistical Methods, Automation	16
Electrification of Railroads, Background, Progress	19

HUNGARY

Press Freedom Still Limited Despite Pressure From Journalists [Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG 4 Aug 88]	22
---	----

POLAND

Constitutional Tribunal: Role in Safeguarding Law, Order	24
Statistical Information Provided on Provincial People's Councils	26

ROMANIA

Attacks, 'Distortions' of Anticommunists	27
--	----

YUGOSLAVIA

Increase of Unofficial Publications Deplored	39
Freedom Committee Faulted for Serbian Chauvinism	42
Banac Book on National Question Reviewed in LCY Journal	44

ECONOMIC

BULGARIA

Economic Changes, Tax Reform	47
Innovations, Efficiency Work, Medical Inventions	50

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Problems in Starting Private Services Viewed	52
Administration, Greatest Obstacle to Cooperative Formation	53
Main Source of Self-Financing Discussed	55

POLAND

2 Scenarios Presented in 5-Year Economic Prognosis	56
--	----

ROMANIA

Survey Finds Support for Reintegration of Economy	62
---	----

BULGARIA

State Decree on Function of Ministries

22000045 Sofia *DURZHAVEN VESTNIK* in Bulgarian
20 May 88 pp 1-5

[Council of Ministers "Decree No. 14 from 9 May 1988 on Defining the Basic Functions and Duties of the Ministry of Economics and Planning, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and the Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers decreed:

Article 1. (1) The basic functions and duties of the Ministry of Economics and Planning are defined in Supplement No. 1.

[section (2) omitted]

(3) Specialized divisions under the Ministry of Economics and Planning are set up according to Supplement No. 2.

Article 2. (1) The basic functions and duties of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations are defined in Supplement No. 3.

[section (2) omitted]

(3) Specialized divisions under the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations are set up according to Supplement No. 4.

Article 3. (1) The basic functions and duties of the Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education are defined in Supplement No. 5.

[section (2) omitted]

(3) A State Fund to promote work in science, art, and education is established under the Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education. Funds are collected and spent according to instruction approved by the minister of culture, science, and education and the minister of economics and planning.

Article 4. The minister of economics and planning, the minister of foreign economic relations, and the minister of culture, science, and education are to approve the regulations on the corresponding ministries' structure and activities by 30 June 1988.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers: Georgi Atanasov

Chief Secretary of the Council of Ministers: Ivan Shpatov

Supplement No. 1 to Article 1, paragraph 1—

Basic Functions and Duties of the Ministry of Economics and Planning

Article 1. The Ministry of Economics and Planning (MIP) is an organ of the Council of Ministers which implements unified state policy and provides strategic leadership of the national economy under the conditions of self-government of the socialist commodity producers.

Article 2. The Ministry of Economics and Planning carries out its rights and responsibilities in state leadership, coordination, and control for a balanced and effective development of the national economy by using economic methods and regulators to accomplish national goals set according to the criteria for a quality new growth and socialist self-government in the economy.

Article 3. The functions, duties, and structure of the ministry are defined on the basis of principles, normative systems, and methods approved according to the corresponding order to ensure quality improvement of the economic and social development of the country.

Article 4. The Ministry of Economics and Planning acts alone or jointly with other state organs, associations, unions, banks, regional communities, and community organizations.

Article 5. The organizational and administrative structure of the ministry is set up in a way which allows its divisions to work for the implementation of unified state policy according to their specific functions, such as planning, social policy, in the field of manpower resources and others, in the development of new production and field structures, in specialization, and in the scientific and production cooperation of our economy with the international labor divisions.

Article 6. The Ministry of Economics and Planning prepares the state plan and state budget and ensures they are carried out according the criteria for a quality new growth and state-of-the-art science and technology by:

1. Organizing work on analyses, prognoses, concepts, and programs in the development of scientific, technical, economic, and social processes in our country and in the world;

2. Setting the goals, pace, and basic economic ratios and priorities for the development of the national economy;

3. Developing on this basis the national balance sheet, such as natural balance, manpower resources balance, financial, foreign exchange, and other value balances and their interpretation;

4. Developing a national plan project for scientific, technical, social, and economic development of the country;

5. Determining state orders for structure determining products and implementing scientific and technical innovations in production;

6. Organizing and administrating work on plan coordination of the Bulgarian People's Republic with the plans of other socialist nations and its related socialist plan integration.

Article 7. The Ministry of Economics and Planning implements the strategic line in restructuring and technological renewal of the economy by:

1. Developing appropriate projects and proposals and determining the resulting priority trends;

2. Guaranteeing the implementation these projects and proposals by developing the national balance sheet for technological relations and by financing developments from this balance sheet with resources from the fund "Policy on Structure and Technology;"

3. Promoting and directing international scientific, technical, and technological exchange through national licensing policy, by organizing the necessary research in this field, and by coordinating international scientific, technical, and production cooperation related to integration processes;

4. Developing proposals for the development of specialized activities in production complexes and by working jointly with other qualified organs in controlling the fulfillment of corresponding duties.

Article 8. The Ministry of Economics and Planning implements state strategy and policy in the field of social development and in elevating the living standard of the people by:

1. Analyzing the living standard conditions and tendencies of the population and of various social groups;

2. Organizing and leading activities to develop and implement national comprehensive programs related to the people's living standard, and to improve the content, nature, quality, and conditions of work.

3. Developing a system of scientifically based standards for consumption and recommendations on how to apply and implement them in the plan and budget of the country and of regional communities;

4. Organizing and coordinating work on basic problems in development of areas other than industry, and in population growth and manpower resources of the country;

5. Administrating and coordinating domestic trade and services on the national level;

6. Developing a national goods stock balance sheet and by controlling the conditions of the domestic market;

7. Helping work up and solve basic problems in environmental conservation and reproduction.

Article 9. The Ministry of Economics and Planning ensures the functioning and development of the economic mechanism in economic management by:

1. Organizing the application and supervising the activities of the entire system of economic conditions, standards, and regulators for the development of self-government and the implementation of effective economic activities, including individual and collective work activities;

2. Implementing methodical management in developing standards in the field of planning, finance, prices and price determination, and work remuneration;

3. Developing proposals and projects together with other state organs and jointly with self-managing organizations within the framework of its rights and responsibilities as a state organ, to improve and renew entirely the normative systems for comprehensive use of economic regulators, such as: taxes and subsidies for economic activities, fees and taxes on the population, remuneration, price determination and the regulations on price setting by economic and regional organs of self-government;

4. Imposing the necessary sanctions on violations of the requirements and regulations for application of the necessary leverage, standards, and regulators;

5. Forming, reorganizing, and closing self-managing economic organizations according to its granted authority;

Article 10. MIP exercises its supervising functions in carrying out the state plan, state budget, and the application of the system of economic standards and regulators through its structural subdivisions, the corresponding specialized organs, and jointly with other state function organs by:

1. Analyzing the fulfillment of the state plan, state budget, and basic ratios and indicators for the development of the country, production complexes, and regional communities;

2. Contributing recommendations as necessary to the government to avoid or or overcome negative economic tendencies;

3. Assisting self-managing economic organizations and regional communities by establishing conditions which favor compliance with the state plan, budget and orders placed by the state;

Article 11. The Ministry of Economics and Planning organizes, according to the established order, the coining of money and securities.

Article 12. The Ministry of Economics and Planning sets customs policy, administers customs supervision in the country and within the limits of its authority establishes and coordinates relations with other national and international organizations in dealing with problems with customs duties.

Supplement No. 2 to Article 1, paragraph 3—

Specialized Subdivisions Under the Ministry of Economics and Planning

1. "Domestic Trade and Services" Administration
2. State Budget Administration
3. State Financial Control
4. State Price Inspectorate
5. State Labor Inspectorate
6. "State Reserve"
7. Customs Administration
8. Economics and Administration Institute
9. Center for Training of Managerial Personnel in Economic Administration

Supplement No. 3 to Article 2, paragraph 1—

Basic Functions and Duties of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations

Article 1. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations (MVV) is an executive and administrative organ of the Council of Ministers which implements state policy in the field of foreign economic relations on the basis of the goals and direction of the socioeconomic development of the Bulgarian People's Republic, and in consideration of foreign economic conditions. Its activities are carried out according to the principles and requirements of self-government, and it promotes consistent coordination of economic interests of the various self-managing economic organizations with the interests of the community.

Article 2. By implementing state foreign economic policy, MVV ensures favorable conditions for effective development of the foreign economic relations of the country. For this purpose, the ministry alone or jointly with other state organs, prepares and secures the signing by corresponding organs of other countries and supervises the compliance with the following types of international economic trade agreements:

1. Long-term trade and economic agreements on protocols for trade and payments, on direct links and joint enterprises and organizations, for investment and credit collaboration, and on foreign trade prices with the USSR and other socialist nations;

2. Bilateral agreements for economic trade collaboration, for state credit, agreements for customs cooperation, and for mutual reassurance and protection of investments and others transactions with non-socialist nations;

3. Multinational agreements in the area of international trade and customs tariffs.

Article 3. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations organizes and serves in works related to the participation of the Bulgarian People's Republic in CEMA, prepares and ensures the signing of and compliance with multinational agreements for the implementation of integration activities to improve the mechanism and socialist economic integration, and to coordinate economic trade policy for third world countries and groups.

Article 4. The Ministry of foreign economic relations carries out the country's participation in the work of multinational economic trade organizations and organizations working on unification of international trade law.

Article 5. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations makes decisions and coordinates projects for agreements between countries and between governments, the preparation and implementation of which have been assigned to other state organs, in the area of foreign exchange and financial relations, taxation of foreign corporations and individuals, scientific and technical cooperation on international level, international transportation, supply of specialists and executive personnel, provision of legal assistance, and others.

Article 6. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations acts jointly with the Ministry of Economics and Planning and with other state organs in developing and implementing national strategy for the development of foreign economic relations and for the application of economic conditions, standards, and regulators in foreign economic activities by:

1. Analyzing and preparing prognoses of tendencies in the development of the world's economy and international economic relations, as well as on the situation of the principle international commodity and regional markets;
2. Preparing recommendations and drafts on long term foreign economic strategy regarding principle markets and regions and on increasing export efficiency and competitiveness;
3. Participating in developing and applying the lev's rates and coefficients to other currencies, the standards for supply and purchasing non-socialist currency, the order and conditions for payments in foreign currency and in leva for foreign economic activities, import duties and customs rates, the conditions for crediting exports, and investments abroad.

Article 7. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations assists regional self-governing communities in developing their programs for economic, scientific, technical, and social development in order to determine the duties of these communities to assist corresponding self-managing economic organizations in carrying out their foreign economic activities.

Article 8. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations assists self-managing economic organizations in developing and implementing their market policy, aiming to optimize the end economic results of their foreign economic activities by:

1. Securing information, analyses, and prognoses for enterprises and other organizations regarding the world economy, international markets, and competitors' conditions and requirements;
2. Assisting enterprises and organizations by providing methodology for making market analyses and programs for the efficient development of their foreign economic activities;
3. Securing for enterprises and other organizations tentative price information on existing levels and correlations of prices in representative and future international markets and assisting by providing methodology to accomplish optimal price conditions for exports, imports, and economic cooperation, as well as setting domestic wholesale prices on the basis of international price conditions;
4. Assisting enterprises and other organizations in orienting them in exportation and economic cooperation toward markets with good possibilities for payment in order to limit and guard against foreign exchange and credit risks;
5. Assisting restructuring and export orientation in production, as well as market implementation (publicity, fairs, and other activities to help introduce the products of Bulgarian exporters in these markets).

Article 9. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations coordinates and supervises import and export activities and economic cooperation of self-managing economic organizations with foreign partners in the following ways:

1. By consolidating the efforts of self-managing economic organizations to accomplish certain priority objectives of our foreign economic strategy in various countries and regions and of efficient foreign economic exchange restructuring;
2. By ensuring the duties of self-managing economic organizations are done according to the state plan;

3. By preventing disloyal competition among Bulgarian organizations in the international market and optimizing the end result of the participation in foreign markets according to the interests of self-managing economic organizations and the commercial and political interests of the country;

4. By facilitating joint action between producers of goods and the implementation of large-scale projects which require national level coordination;

5. By exerting control over the conditions of agreement relations and agreement discipline in import, export, and other forms of foreign economic activities and over the quality of the imported and exported goods.

Article 10. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations lends methodological assistance to self-managing economic organizations in organizing and implementing their projects for investment and industrial cooperation with foreign corporations and individuals, for example, investment cooperation and mixed associations in the Bulgarian People's Republic, foreign associations and other investments, industrial cooperation, consortiums, and others. MVV analyzes the recommendations of self-managing economic organizations, gives opinions and approves projects before making a decision to sign the corresponding agreement.

Article 11. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations acts jointly with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to implement comprehensive initiatives and increasing the efficiency of international contacts, to work on strategic developments of national policy on foreign relations, and provide unidirectional guidance to unified missions abroad.

Article 12. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations ensures unity and cooperation in activities of other state organs with functions of foreign economic nature, mainly through the Bulgarian counterparts of bilateral intergovernmental commissions for trade, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation. The Ministry administrates and supervises all work of the Bulgarian counterparts of bilateral commissions by seeking very close correlation of their activities with the foreign economic initiatives of self-managing economic organizations.

Article 13. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations in effect assists self-managing economic organizations in selecting, training, and developing personnel to participate in foreign economic activities. The Ministry coordinates the functions of a uniform system for evaluation, distribution, and development of personnel who will conduct the foreign economic activities of self-managing economic organizations on the basis of uniform criteria and requirements regardless of the type of foreign economic activities conducted; it ensures that the principle of competitive choice is applied in the selection and movement of personnel to conduct economic activities

abroad, and gives its opinions on the economic organizations' recommendations for hiring, transferring, promoting, and dismissing managers of foreign economic activities.

Article 14. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations participates in planning, organizing and supervising the selection, preparation, and distribution of specialists in foreign economic relations, trained in our country and abroad. The Ministry organizes and assists in improving the professional and language skills of personnel for foreign economic activities through postgraduate specialization and re-training, as well as through internships, courses, seminars, and others here and abroad.

Article 15. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations administers and supervises divisions having foreign economic functions in the country's unified missions abroad according to state interests and the duties and responsibilities under international law. The heads of these divisions may give recommendations, request information, and coordinate activities of the self-managing economic organizations' representatives and divisions abroad.

Article 16. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations develops new normative acts and recommends replacing or changing active normative acts which regulate foreign economic activities, and assists self-managing economic organizations by providing methodology and instructions on their application.

Article 17. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations registers import and export deals made by self-managing economic organizations as a condition for their implementation.

Supplement No. 4 to Article 2, paragraph 3—

Specialized Divisions Under the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations

1. International Economics and Market Problems Institute with Computer Center
2. School for Personnel Training in Foreign Economics
3. Export Goods Quality Control Directorate

Supplement No. 5 to Article 3, paragraph 1—

Basic Functions and Duties of the Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education

Article 1. The Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education is an organ of the Council of Ministers, authorized to implement state policy in intellectual matters to reach the Bulgarian People's Republic strategic goal to become a highly developed and educated socialist nation.

Article 2. The Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education is structured and functions under the conditions of the following organizational and administrative framework of intellectual matters:

1. Commissions on intellectual development which are organs of self-government are organized by the community and district people's councils;

2. The Culture Committee, the Science and Higher Education Committee, the People's Education Committee, and other collective organs of self-government for certain specific activities, function on the national level as collective organs of self-governing organizations dealing with intellectual matters;

3. The organs mentioned in points 1 and 2 above, carry out functions related to regional and self-governing organizations on the national level.

Article 3. The Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education assists and acts jointly with self-governing organs dealing with intellectual matters, contributes for the establishment of favorable conditions to elevate the intellectual level of the nation, to satisfy the intellectual needs of society and the individual more fully and versatily, and for the development of socialist democracy.

Article 4. The Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education:

1. Leads a dialogue with self-governing organs dealing with intellectual matters. It uses specific rules, standards, economic methods, and forms which encourage the development of science, education, and culture toward great achievements and high professionalism;

2. Assists self-governing organs in applying the economic mechanism to intellectual matters;

3. Ensures the development of intellectual matters according to their specificity and variety, ethnic character, educational and ideological purpose, and in keeping up with the latest achievements of world culture, science, and education.

Article 5. The Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education provides for state policy and strategy regarding intellectual matters by:

1. Participating in working out a unified plan for scientific, technical, and socioeconomic development of the country and for the state budget regarding intellectual matters;

2. Assisting self-governing organs in developing and introducing in the Council of Ministers projects for normative acts dealing with intellectual matters;

3. Assisting in the development of long term scientific and technical programs and standards for integrated construction and efficient renovation and utilization of cultural, science, and education facilities so that cultural heritage can reach all towns and villages and all levels of society.

Article 6. By attracting professional intellectuals and specialists from self-governing organizations, the Ministry:

1. Assists in integrating the potentials of state organs and self-governing organizations for the cultural development of the nation;

2. Supervises scientific and cultural development to elevate the educational, professional, and cultural level of the younger generation and of all workers, and the creation and dissemination of cultural heritage;

3. Organizes competitions for government contracts.

Article 7. The Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education carries out unified strategy for worker and youth communist education by:

1. Setting standards to ensure social, pedagogical, material and technical, and other conditions for comprehensive and harmonious development and communist education of the younger generation, for its preparation and fulfillment under the conditions of scientific and technical innovations; by using, in relation to this, the education system and knowledge of cultural institutes, literature, art, sports, the family, and all state and community factors;

2. Developing projects for comprehensive programs and criteria for ideological, work, patriotic, moral, and esthetic education of youths and workers, and by coordinating activities related to their implementation;

3. Proposing measures to discover and use the creative resources of the younger generation;

4. Taking care for the development of the movement "Peace Banner;"

5. Organizing the activities related to festivities and ceremonies in the community.

Article 8. The Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education carries out international cooperation in intellectual matters and promotes and coordinates the development of international cooperation of corresponding self-governing organizations.

Control Committee Chief on Glasnost, Journalism
22000041 Sofia BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST
in Bulgarian May 88 pp 2-5

[Article by Georgi Georgiev, chairman of the Committee for State and People's Control: "Powerful Weapon of Restructuring, Control and Journalism: Common Social Responsibilities"]

[Text] The high party imperative of control, which is efficient, preventive and fully adequate in terms of the historical and revolutionary changes occurring in our society, sets common objectives and responsibilities to both the national control system and to Bulgarian journalism.

Today Bulgaria lives with the renovating spirit of the National Party Conference, which in 1988 is the most important political event in our country. This, together with the entire social atmosphere which prevailed in July, enables us to consider and interpret our work from the viewpoint of the documents formulated at the conference and, more specifically, the introductory statement by Comrade T. Zhivkov to the delegates, and his report "Restructuring Is the Cause of the Party and of the People".

"Glasnost," the conference resolution emphasizes, "is the inalienable element of socialist democracy. It is a way and means of its manifestation. By disseminating information through glasnost, the people are prepared for and actively participate in making policy by the leading authorities in the decision making area, pertaining to social development; they exercise control over elected leading authorities as well as self-control."

Today no longer can anyone among us conceive of democracy without criticism and glasnost. We are deeply convinced that the extent of criticism and self-criticism and glasnost is becoming a criterion of the true maturity and the democratic nature of society. As Comrade M. Gorbachev emphasized at one of his meetings with journalists, "criticism is a bitter medicine which, however, is made necessary by the disease!"

The editors of newspapers, periodicals, the television and the radio are doing and will continue to do a great deal to intensify glasnost in our life. We well understand what this means to the journalist: tireless efforts, time, speed and...a great deal of difficulties, as well sharp arguments and conflicts. Actually, the road of the Bulgarian journalist has never been easy despite the fact that so far no one has suggested that a monument be erected in honor of his patriotic combativeness.

In the battles on the way to restructuring, the control workers marched together with the journalists. They are on the same side of the barricade which we are erecting to block negative phenomena which have an amazing ability for self-reproduction!

For that reason our meetings and ties with the representatives of the mass information media are particularly important. The press, television and radio make it possible for control to establish direct ties with the working people and to operate openly and thus to have its social results greatly multiplied. Let me expressly emphasize that we are satisfied with our good joint work. Our efforts and responsibility follow the same direction, for which reason our cooperation is developing and strengthening, becoming increasingly richer and, most important, yielding visible and tangible results and contributing to surmounting weaknesses and violations as detected by the control authorities.

The Union of Bulgarian Journalists, with which for many years the Committee for State and People's Control has traditionally maintained good relations, is a strong factor in the exercise of such interaction and cooperation. A certain contribution to all this is also made by meetings with representatives of the mass information media, which are becoming increasingly useful to the control authorities and, we hope, the editorial boards.

Let me note at this point the positive changes which have occurred in the cooperation between the KDNK, on the one hand, and the press, radio and television, on the other, in 1987. A great impetus for such changes was provided by the 23 May 1987 resolution of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat on the subject of criticism in the mass information media. The joint steps which were formulated by the KDNK and the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, in order to implement this party document, created prerequisites for our joint work to become even better planned, more purposeful and efficient. The Committee for State and People's Control opened its gates even more widely to the journalists. Representatives of the mass information media are attending not only sessions of the committee but also of its board and regularly and extensively report on them. The range of editorial boards with which we are doing joint work has also broadened. In addition to the central mass information media, the newspapers STROITEL, TREZVENOST, TRANSPORTEN GLAS and ORBITA, the periodicals ZHENATA DNES, OBSHTESTVO I PRAVO, OTECHESTVO and others have begun to act more energetically.

Today the journalists enjoy free access to materials from control procedures, not only after they have been implemented, as was the case in the past, but from the very beginning of investigations and in the course of their implementation. By mutual agreement they are made public knowledge.

The Committee for State and People's Control, the television, the radio and the editors of newspapers and periodicals are implementing, with increasing success, their task of enriching and improving forms of cooperation, and are implementing the new ideas and initiatives as mandated by the 13th Party Congress and the resolution of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat. With

increasing frequency journalists from the central press, the Bulgarian television and Bulgarian radio are being included in the investigations conducted by the Committee for State and People's Control. This approach adopted in our interaction was manifested particularly emphatically in supervising the implementation of Council of Ministers Resolution No 67 on restricting the use of alcohol and investigations related to topical problems in agriculture, industry, construction, trade and services.

Jointly conducted checks and surprise investigations have yielded good results. Let us note among them the investigation on the implementation of the regulations on the enrollment of students in higher educational institutions, which was carried out by the KDNK group on "Activities Related to Spiritual Development," together with a team of journalists from the newspaper NARODNA MLADEZH, which met with great public response.

Glasnost does not have specifically defined and stylized limits. The investigation, the purpose of which was to eliminate a number of weaknesses in the activities of the Television and Radio Services SD, was very businesslike and substantial. This is one of the best accomplishments of the KDNK jointly with the newspaper ZEMELSKO ZNAME. Let us also note the series of articles on the efficient use of water, jointly drafted and published in TRUD. Also quite efficient was the first mass investigation of the utilization of scientific and technical achievements, conducted by the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

The joint feature developed by the KDNK and the Horizon Program broadcast on the Bulgarian radio, yielded very good results. It had a real impact on enhancing the efforts to surmount the damages caused by the earthquake in Strazhitsa and Popovo. There was an unexpected public response following the publication of the gross violations committed by the managements of the Avram Stoyanov Combine in Mikhaylovgrad and the Rodopa Combine in Vidin. The approach we jointly selected was the right one and we must continue to strengthen it! Among the many television programs a proper welcome and high rating were given to the collective essay "Eyes for Everything," which described the activities of people's controllers at the Druzhba Plant in Varna.

Publications based on materials resulting from control activities include sharp, specific and substantiated criticism of negative phenomena and delinquent officials, indicating the reasons which have brought about the difficulties and the steps which are being taken for their elimination.

Naturally, many other examples of equal value could be cited, for this is by no means everything accomplished through joint efforts. What matters is that through our joint efforts we are implementing a responsible task assigned by our party.

What is noteworthy is that in reporting on control activities, the mass information media are abandoning the dry informative style or impartial interpretation of the facts and events and are seriously engaging in purposeful, analytical reports, commentaries, and other types of publication. Noted for such materials are the newspapers RABOTNICHESKO DELO, TRUD and NARODNA MLADEZH.

Another positive fact is the attention paid to the activities of the people's control commissions as agencies of self-governing labor collectives and territorial communities. To us this is of particular importance, for they provide mass support and a broad social foundation for the National Control System. It was above all the departmental and local press that opened and outlined its approach to the development of this interesting topic during the year. But let us not delude ourselves, for this represents only the beginning and our work in this area is as yet to be continued and intensified.

We, control officials, try never to become intoxicated by the "symphony of figures." Nonetheless, the figure I would like to quote indicates a good development: In 1987 the central mass information media published or broadcast more than 420 pieces on the activities of the KDNK and its agencies.

Naturally, in emphasizing successes, we must consider our joint work analytically and critically, and even more critically than we look at the work of others. I believe that all of us are well aware of the need to consider some lost opportunities. A critical consideration of our accomplishments enables us to identify and eliminate some organizational weaknesses in our cooperation, such as the lack of adequate synchronization between the KDNK and the individual mass information media. Such synchronization applies both to planning and to the implementation of joint initiatives. It was mainly for that reason that a certain vagueness was allowed to occur in our interaction with the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO in supervising the observance of contractual discipline, and with the newspaper TRUD, in the investigation of the Balkankar SO.

The number of press materials published makes it necessary for us to consider their quality. Quantity alone can no longer satisfy any of the parties involved, for restructuring imperatively demands other criteria. I believe that one of the major gaps in our work is the lack of profound, analytical and summing up materials which hide behind the facts and earmark and bring to light some more durable trends and laws in the development of society. We are also awaiting the publication of articles on control problems.

Perhaps we, the control personnel, have been unable to help the journalists to undertake a more profound study of such problems. In my view, both control per se and the facts it handles offer rich opportunities for journalistic work.

In short, I think that in the course of our joint work we should ever more firmly go beyond news and daily information and make more frequent use of the "heavy artillery" of journalism, which is that of political articles. I also think that our joint work could become more efficient if greater attention is paid to the results of the implementation of the resolutions of the KDNK, if the public response is studied along with changes in public opinion, and so on.

Great opportunities also exist in terms of increasing the efficiency of our joint surprise investigations and reviews. What we have accomplished so far has been good. It is precisely our accomplishments that require of us to seek ways for optimal cooperation in this area. It is particularly important in this case to specify and improve both preliminary preparations as well as the overall organization of the publication of results. We must be consistent, concentrate on specific problems and develop a rhythm in this area.

In the spirit of the critical analysis of our joint work, I believe that we have still not been able to find the most efficient means of making public a broad form of supervision, such as mass control. Obviously, our dialogue in this respect should be extended until the desired result has been obtained. What is particularly important in this case? Proceeding from the nature and purpose of mass control as a powerful resource for social management and its rich set of problems and strategic nature, through our joint work we must aspire to the clarification of its specific function of being comprehensive and broad and of improving relations between the state as the owner and the labor collective as the manager of socialist property and thus to emphasize the constructive, preventive and influencing role played by control.

We must also make public the activities of the specialized control authorities, which are subsystems of the unified National Control System. Each one of them has its area of action. For one reason or another, however, it has been left outside of the public's knowledge. We too are to be blamed for it to a certain extent. Our first task now must be to create efficient ties between them and the mass information media and to regulate joint activities in this area.

We must acknowledge another one of our weaknesses as partners in cooperation: the insufficient assistance given to reflecting the results of the work of the KDNK with the complaints, reports and suggestions submitted by the working people. In this case the field of action is wide and varied. Journalistic theory and practice offer us adequate means of efficiently reflecting such interesting problems related to the social activeness of the working people.

During the year we made serious progress in popularizing the activities of the people's control commissions. However, the developing process of extensive democratization and increased self-management mandate to us to

cover their activities even more profoundly and broadly, and to look at the problems which accompany them and, through the means of journalism, assert and enhance their social status.

Let me discuss, albeit very briefly, the process of restructuring of the control system.

To us restructuring is organically related to the development of a new type of socialist control which, in accordance with party requirements, must be developed as an important resource in social management and self-government and made an efficient factor in our qualitatively new growth.

After the July Plenum and the National Party Conference, restructuring in our country entered the stage of practical work, upgrading the responsibility for assignments and engaging in comprehensive and efficient control over the precise and prompt implementation of adopted party and government decisions.

The restructuring process has its own specific essential dimensions.

First: In terms of content and topic, increasingly control is being aimed at achieving the strategic objectives and tasks of our scientific and technical and socioeconomic development—at the core of our party and state policy.

The conditions of restructuring demand, and we aspire toward it, the restructuring of the National Control System itself, so that it may fulfill its basic functions on the basis of national positions and with maximal glasnost.

Second: We link restructuring in the National Control System also to the need decisively to reduce the numerous supervisory authorities, the large number of investigations and audits and duplication and parallelism in control, for they hinder the work of the economic organizations under self-management conditions. The solution of this problem, to which Comrade T. Zhivkov has repeatedly drawn attention, will inevitably reduce the complex control apparatus and eliminate disparity and lack of coordination in control and intensify integration and coordination processes in the National Control System; it will enhance the social efficiency of its work.

The third dimension of restructuring is related to the intensification of control and self-control in the labor collectives and territorial communities and the enhancement of the role of the people's control commissions and groups within them.

This problem is also related to the successful waging of the struggle against negative phenomena and social deformations. All of us know well that many of them have shown a trend toward durability: negligence, appropriation, use of official position for obtaining illegal benefits, etc. One of the main reasons for this is the

lowered internal control and self-control in the self-governing organizations. This conclusion was confirmed once again by the investigations we recently conducted at the Rodopa SO, Metalkhim SO, Television and Radio Services SD, etc.

We acknowledge the inadequate efficiency in our struggle against negative phenomena and social deformations and its lack of consistency with the requirements formulated by Comrade T. Zhivkov in his 1985 report note to the Politburo. For that reason we are trying to enhance the activeness of internal control and self-control in the labor collectives and territorial communities, without which success in this struggle would be inconceivable.

At the same time, we are intensifying the cognitive and analytical-evaluation function of control in order to find the reasons which lead to negative phenomena. This approach opens unquestionably broad opportunities for scientific control, anticipation and social prevention in limiting and eliminating negative phenomena.

Naturally, we realize that success in the struggle against negative phenomena is inconceivable without the integrated efforts of control authorities with the law-enforcement and justice authorities and public organizations. That is why we are strengthening and broadening our interaction with them.

Another area of restructuring is that of improving control methodology and instruments.

We are increasingly turning to mass control as a means for the broadest possible involvement of the entire potential of the National Control System.

We are asserting as our work style the organization of mass control on major topical problems of social development, such as the comprehensive application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, supplying the population with goods and services, etc.

This year and until 1990 the Committee for State and People's Control will formulate a system for control in priority areas. Its purpose is to help the party and the state to solve major problems, such as:

Achieving a structural reorganization and a qualitatively new growth in the economy and the other areas;

Technological renovation and intensification of output on the basis of scientific and technical progress;

Efficient use, maintenance and modernization of production capacities under the conditions of the management and control of socialist property by labor collectives.

We shall also concentrate on systematic control in the following areas:

Application of the Regulation on Economic Activities and related legal regulations:

Meeting the needs of the population for goods and services, etc.

We perfectly realize that at the present stage of extensive democracy, state and people's control can be highly efficient only if it is extremely open and take place in front of and with the participation of everyone. We are deeply convinced that glasnost can truly heal various social ills, protect cadres from repeating their errors and lead them on the right way in order to assert the principle of social justice in our social life. That is why we consider glasnost in control as a powerful weapon of restructuring.

05003

Youth Leader on Organization, Policy

22000043 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian
1 Jun 88 pp 1, 4

[Andrey Bundzhulov, Komsomol Central Committee first secretary, answers questions asked through the telephone line of NARODNA MLADEZH: "Youth, Restructuring, and Our Time"]

[Text] One year has passed since the Fifteenth Komsomol Congress. During that time the BCP Central Committee July and November 1987 plenums were held. The National Party Conference took place. The considerations expressed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov on some problems and tasks related to restructuring in the spiritual area were published and extensively discussed. We have acquired an overall concept of the further building of socialism in Bulgaria.

For the Dimitrov Komsomol this was a year related to the intensive study and development of essentially new problems of political and organizational practices, based on the July concept, and undertaking the implementation of the resolutions of its congress.

What real changes were made?

Following are, somewhat abridged, the answers given by Andrey Bundzhulov, Komsomol Central Committee first secretary, to the questions asked through the open telephone line of NARODNA MLADEZH:

Vladimir Vladimirov, fifth year student of philosophy:

What is new in the work of the Dimitrov Komsomol after its 15th Congress, and what are its positive sides?

Andrey Bundzhulov: There are both new and old things. However, we already see some renovation processes in Komsomol activities.

We began with radical changes in Komsomol functions and structure. New agencies were developed—councils and commissions. The okrug Komsomol committees were abolished. We thus put an end to the functioning of one level in the Komsomol hierarchy and are now establishing direct ties between the Central Committee and the municipal committees. New rights and responsibilities were assigned to the Komsomol societies and their autonomy was increased.

All of this is under way. The main result is the broadening of democratization of the youth union. In a number of areas, under circumstances of extensive openness, the Komsomol members themselves choose the secretaries of their societies and organizations from among several candidates, and speak out more freely in youth collectives. The climate in a number of Komsomol societies is changing and so is the attitude of the young people toward their organization.

The other change has to do with some essential aspects of our activities. Let us take the example of the brigade movement. We are expanding the range of means of voluntary work by young people. We are converting from an essentially centralized system of organization of brigade labor to an attractive initiative on the part of the young people themselves.

The movement for scientific and technical creativity of youth is also subject to changes. The main idea here is for it to provide an incentive and impetus for youth ideas—social, technical, etc. A trend is developing for this movement to become a real partner and competitor within the self-governing organizations and to become integrated with their potential and resources. The first exhibit on the topic of "Bulgarian Youth and Their Say in Future Technologies" has already taken place.

A new attitude has been adopted toward amateur youth associations and clubs. Conditions are being created for organizing associations based on interests within the self-governing communities.

However, we must point out that this is only the very beginning. The change is difficult for it pertains to our work style, our training and experience, our concepts and, if you wish, our convictions. The question now is whether in the course of restructuring the process of developing self-government will become irreversible or else will the machinery, the departmental and bureaucratic way of thinking prevail. You are a philosopher and you know that restructuring is dialectical and advances by surmounting contradictions.

You said that new authorities—councils and commissions—were organized. Do you believe that they have begun to work efficiently?

Not yet. They were set up only 3 to 4 months ago. The councils and commissions are as still gaining experience, and this is a process which will take not months but

perhaps even years. This is not a question simply of reporting that they are a fact but for the young people truly to begin to work in them and through them. However, the beginning has been laid, in some places quite well and somewhere else poorly.

Khari Yanakiev, Stara Zagora Medical Institute, in charge of ideological education at the Komsomol VK:

In our view, we are advancing with great difficulty in our ideological education work. More specifically, my question is about the national political competition: How to involve the young people in it?

Andrey Bundzhulov: My view is that we must abandon the excessively centralized organization of the national political contest and operate on the basis of the real political interests of young people. The young must compete through their ideas, thoughts and visions. It is not mandatory for everyone to write a paper or to report on how many projects were carried out. What matters is for the society to promote a political discussion, to develop active forms and debates. It is on this basis that we must develop the national political contest, not only in terms of writing papers but as a new form of manifestation of youth political activities, based on their interests, professional training, etc.

You are right, but topics are being "issued!"

There will no longer be such "issuing" of topics. We have abandoned such practices. What we have now are problem areas. No one will forbid you to write on topics of interest to you. What matters is to generate an interest among the students through the new forms.

We are trying to introduce new forms but there is no interest.

Do not give up. It is difficult now but after a while things will change. One of the guarantees for the success of restructuring is to continue to advance confidently.

What about the evaluation criteria, would they differ from those of the superior authorities?

I am convinced that the evaluation criteria will be above all those of the society itself. It is a question of its real condition, of the thoughts, behavior and activeness of the young person. Any other criterion, of the Central Committee, the municipal committee or the VUZ committees must take such criteria into consideration. This will be a difficult process and this will require a great deal of work in order to reinterpret matters and change our way of thinking.

We have not given up the struggle and will not do so. Perhaps today the young people do not understand some new events in the Komsomol. They do not wish to believe that this is precisely what will take place. What is your idea, how can we strengthen the authority of the Komsomol?

The authority of the Komsomol is not a fixed value. It depends on our ability accurately to determine the pulse beat of the young, to find and suggest solutions to the steadily arising problems, and to struggle for the interests of the young for the sake of their full growth and expression.

You and I must work in such a way that the young will believe in the authority of the Komsomol organization. No other solution is possible. The authority can be enhanced only through real work with the young. The restructuring within the Komsomol itself offers the greatest possible opportunities for enhancing its authority.

Therefore, if we work together we shall succeed. If we work well our authority will be enhanced. We shall support you in all of your positive initiatives and even if you err nothing terrible will happen. No one is guaranteed against making errors. What matters is to learn from them.

Concerning the brigade movement: we have allowed the people to choose freely what brigade to join. But would this not create a discrepancy between the municipal leadership and us?

When you are speaking of the brigade movement you suddenly have in mind its old model, which was based on the administrative-command work style, in which the young were essentially assigned and directed in the manner of a "labor resource," as we have become accustomed to saying. The situation now must be changed radically. We must assert the principles of voluntary participation, the piece-rate payment system and the contractual principle. We must also develop and provide equal conditions for all possible forms of voluntary youth labor: secondary school and student cooperatives providing goods and services, specialized brigades, individual labor, etc. Our aspiration is for the brigade movement to become a year-round initiative, the main subject and organizer of which would be the young people themselves.

We pay particular attention to the development of Komsomol self-government in youth brigades and to creating opportunities for the young to organize themselves in their own brigade, and to have views on all problems of brigade life.

Naturally, this does not mean that the brigade movement will be developed exclusively on the basis of personal preferences and interests. It will be a balance, a combination of the interests of the young, the organization, the municipality and the interests of the nation.

In the future as well, to the same extent as in the past, brigade labor will be related to lofty patriotic objectives and initiatives. Through a dialogue which is involving all of us, everyone must find himself and his place. We can no longer use administrative methods in imposing on the young where to go to work. We must allow them to choose. We must persuade them and, on this basis, achieve our political objectives. Such problems must be discussed democratically by the society which must make the final decision.

You see, therefore, what we are aiming at: to take the interests of the people into consideration. The administrative imposition of tasks is much easier. However, we cannot go on this way.

This year we have had and will have difficulties in restructuring the brigade movement. However, the strategic path is correct: voluntary participation, variety and rivalry among various forms, and moral and material interest in end results. What is fundamental is the participation of the young people themselves and not only of brigade headquarters in problem solving.

Nasko Nastev, Kurdzhali chief specialist at the Local Industry and Consumer Services Directorate:

We organized a cooperative consisting of secondary school and university students and specialists working on municipal territory. We would like this cooperative to endure. We would like you to help us to become a Komsomol Central Committee enterprise.

Andrey Bundzhulov: The country already has several dozen youth cooperatives working on a voluntary basis. In order to promote the cooperative movement among students joint steps were taken by the leaderships of the Komsomol Central Committee, the Ministry of Culture, Science and Education and the Central Cooperative Union. We also adopted a model regulation on secondary and university student cooperatives. Such cooperatives may be juridical persons. They may be members of the cooperative union and may associate with other organizations. However, their natural place is among the people, in the social communities, both territorial and industrial. Therefore, it is not necessary for you to be under the Komsomol Central Committee. If you have any difficulties, submit your suggestions and we shall help you.

Andrey Andreev, Plovdiv, worker at the Motor Cars Combine, Komsomol member:

What is the situation with Komsomol membership?

Andrey Bundzhulov: Komsomol membership is voluntary. However, at the very start we provide a so-called package reception. It is as though people join on the basis of age groups. Furthermore, we do not struggle sufficiently to enhance membership criteria.

The result is that some people are only formally members of the Komsomol. The question is, what to do with them? The easiest thing would be to say, "Leave the Komsomol! We do not need such formal membership." The problem, however, is that of changing the Komsomol itself, of making it more attractive. This, actually, is the purpose of restructuring.

Naturally, this does not mean that people who grossly violate the statutes and laws because of their rude behavior would be kept in Komsomol ranks. However, expulsion is an extreme step and should be resorted to only after all other measures have been exhausted.

Some Komsomol members participate in all of our projects but nonetheless look at the Komsomol scornfully.

The restructuring of the Komsomol will not take place as long as we consider the Komsomol members as participants in a given project instead of creating conditions which would let them prove themselves as initiators and organizers of important, interesting and attractive activities.

The Komsomol members are frequently put in the position of passive observers. One of the secrets of restructuring is to convert the young from participants into authors of various initiatives. This is not easy. It is not merely a question of the fact that projects are formulated one way today and another tomorrow. It is a question of changing our concepts and making the young people believe that change is possible.

I am referring to young people who demonstrate through their behavior. For example, when they get their paycheck and we ask them to pay their membership dues, they refuse and mock us, saying: "What has the Komsomol given me?" This applies to 5 or 6 members of our society. The Komsomol secretary did not allow me to report this to NARODNA MLADEZH.

You could send a note to NARODNA MLADEZH. There is no reason to conceal such problems.

But let me go back to the question you raised. Were no results achieved when you spoke with the people? Perhaps you did not speak with them well enough? I suggest that you discuss this problem openly in your society, in the presence of the entire membership. Listen to what they have to say. There must be an open and, if necessary, sharp discussion. You must see where the reasons lie, whether in the members, the society or somewhere else, and undertake change from all sides.

Sevdalin Nikolov, chairman, Commission for Organizational Problems of the Ruse Oblast Komsomol Committee:

When will the Komsomol Central Committee instructions be adopted?

Andrey Bundzhulov: So far we have had 7 instructions. Their number will be reduced greatly. What is even more important is that their content and aspect will be changed radically. We have almost completed a regulation on the procedure for Komsomol membership and the establishment and functioning of Komsomol self-governing authorities.

These regulations will be discussed extensively. We also have a draft on the work of auditing commissions. These documents will be ratified at the 3rd Central Committee Plenum. We shall thus complete the cycle of internal organizational restructuring, for we already have the new structure and functions of Komsomol authorities and the basic documents I indicated.

When will the substitution of membership cards take place and will it be related to Komsomol membership?

The substitution has to be made, for according to the statutes the mechanism for Komsomol membership is changed. This substitution, however, will not be simultaneous but in stages. We shall begin by issuing the new documents to the new Komsomol members, and then to students and working youth. Wherever necessary, in the view of the youth societies and organizations, a review of the membership may take place. However, no campaign would be launched. This is not a question of a procedural matter but of the place which every one of us must occupy in restructuring. The time has come to answer the question of why we are members of the Komsomol, what do we expect of it and what does it demand and expect of us.

What are the reasons for the delay in issuing resolutions and providing various types of informations by the Komsomol Central Committee?

Today we are working under the new conditions for which our information and bookkeeping system has not been prepared. In some areas there has been a breakdown of our communications with the municipal committees. In such cases we must make use of the connection with the representative of the Central Committee, who is responsible for the respective municipality. In the final account, we must reorganize our work in such a way that such ties become functional and the time for providing the information is reduced.

We are about to establish a computer network within the Komsomol system. Some of the information exchanged between the Komsomol Central Committee and the

municipal committees will be through personal computers. The conclusion is that we must learn how to work without an intermediary link.

Purvoleta Stefanova, Higher Pedagogical Institute, Shumen:

After the Fifteenth Komsomol Congress autonomy was granted to the Komsomol societies. However, we do not know what to do with this autonomy. What recommendations could you make in this respect?

Andrey Bundzhulov: This is a very important question. It is difficult for me to tell you what precisely you must do in your own society. Nor is this necessary. I would recommend to you to draw up a table of the wishes, aspirations, hobbies, interests and attractions of every Komsomol member and the problems which you must solve as a group. Everyone must answer the question of what his interests are, for it is very difficult to help someone who does not know what he is interested in.

One of the tasks of the Komsomol is to help every young person to determine what he wants and to be internally oriented. You yourselves must decide what to do, bearing in mind the guidelines issued by the National Party Conference and the Komsomol Congress. Naturally, we could come and see you and see what the situation is and assign tasks. This is no trouble, for this was precisely what we did in the past. However, if you can find your own solution to your situation, it means that restructuring has begun.

Plamen Todorov, Shumen, Stamen Stamenov Economic Combine:

Things are still difficult with us. We wish to involve all Komsomol members in the work of the society. We would like to break the stereotype. The society is not exclusively the private domain of the Komsomol secretary. However, there is a gap between the interests of the young people and the possibilities of the Komsomol organization. We are also encountering problems with determining the precise nature of youth activities.

Andrey Bundzhulov: Youth activities are activities in which young people are interested and in which they wish to actively participate. They are activities based on real interests and not those imagined by the Komsomol committees. They could apply to the interests of one, two, three or 10 people.

At this point we are discussing extensively the meaning of youth activities. However, obviously things are connected, they are related to the activities of the labor collective and to obligations. The main thing is to be familiar with youth interests. It is on that basis that we must support and defend them in dealing with all authorities in charge of satisfying them: the enterprise, the director, the economic council and the self-governing agencies.

As far as resting facilities are concerned, our municipal committee was granted 50 places by the Orbita VMT in Primorsko and this meets our requirements.

This is good. So far the Orbita vouchers were issued on a centralized basis. Henceforth we must convert to direct contracting with the municipalities and self-governing communities. Even thus such vouchers will not be sufficient. However, in this case we must maintain certain priorities and fairness.

Plamen Petkov, Shumen:

In connection with the initial steps toward self-government we are unable to ensure the financial support of our youth club. Could our union set up an economic organization to deal with such matters? The plant for non-standard equipment helped in building the club but cannot support it. Nor are the social funds sufficient.

Andrey Bundzhulov: Youth and Pioneer houses and clubs will be built in the future on the basis of the resources of the self-governing communities. Their economic upkeep, repairs and reconstruction will be assumed by the people's councils, the mayoralties and, respectively, the enterprises. The Pioneer detachments and units, and the Komsomol societies and organizations will be the political organizers of activities in Pioneer and youth homes and clubs. For that reason some funds for activities, such as wages, will be provided by the Komsomol. The fact that the labor collectives and people's councils do not have the necessary resources everywhere is a different matter. In some areas funds are low. We, the young, must work in such a way as to increase and develop such funds.

Plamen Drusev, Veliko Turnovo:

I speak on behalf of the Komsomol group which will work in construction on the basis of Council of Ministers Decree No 70, of 1980. We have signed a contract for construction work for 24 months. This was decided locally.

Andrey Bundzhulov: The fact that you have concluded a contract with the municipal people's council to work in construction for more than 18 months is both your and its prerogative. However, I must specifically emphasize that this is not in accordance with the stipulations of the 1980 Council of Ministers Decree No 70. Therefore, you must now insist on the people's council applying the legal stipulations of the decree. If you fail, we shall help you.

At the last elections the number of young people elected to the mayoralties and the people's councils declined. Could you comment on this?

It is true that the number of young members of the people's councils declined. One of the reasons is that the Komsomol was unable to find its way and to surmount its old practices, hold on to its positions and support the

candidacies of the young. In a number of areas we were relying on the old work stereotypes, according to which everything was to be solved in advance. Obviously, under the new circumstances we must learn how to defend our right to be represented in the self-governing authorities. We have drawn proper conclusions from this.

Now we must actively join in the work of the elected agencies of people's self-government. We must pay particular attention to the young counselors and help them to participate competently in the work. We must do everything possible to enhance their legal, economic and organizational knowledge. In this connection it would be suitable to set up young counselor clubs or groups. The Komsomol municipal committee must constantly and specifically work with them and through them promote its resolutions and ideas in the municipal people's council.

Todor Marinov, Komsomol committee secretary, Sliven:

What is your view of the relationship between the Komsomol and the trade unions in the labor collectives?

Andrey Bundzhulov: We are equal partners with the trade unions, on all levels. Naturally, in the individual areas we must specifically see which of our activities are common. For example, this includes competition, scientific and technical creativity, sponsorship, education, skills, housing, etc. However, there also are activities which are specifically those of young people, such as the internal life of the organization, leisure time, participation in self-government authorities, etc. We must learn how to defend our interests and views. We must work jointly without substituting or duplicating the self-governing authorities of the labor collective; we must surmount formalism and submitting reports on the same activities through different channels; we must also avoid separation and alienation from each other.

Rositsa Stoyanova, teacher, school No 21 in Sofia:

I am of Komsomol age. How can we interpret, under the new circumstances, the quality characteristics of our union as being "united," "mass" and "autonomous?"

Andrey Bundzhulov: The question you raise deals with all that we are now undertaking, with the nature and essence of restructuring in our union. The Dimitrov Komsomol must become a new type of organization. We are not rejecting its fundamental features but must take a new look at them.

Let us look at unity: This is not an automatic summing up but a political unity. The members of the Komsomol are united in the ideological sense, i.e., they accept the Komsomol statutes and work for the implementation of the party program. After 9 September the Komsomol has been a unified organization. This is our major political gain. However, we can develop the unity of the youth

organization by taking into consideration the variety of the young people's lives and organically combining the specific nature of needs of various strata and groups among the youth and of individuals with the interests of the public.

When we speak of unity we do not mean that the Komsomol is the only organization which will solve the problems of young people. Such problems will be solved by the entire society, by the state and public authorities and organizations and, above all, by the self-governing communities.

The second aspect is that of mass participation. We are a mass organization. However, this does not mean that we are an all-embracing organization which accepts any young person between the ages of 14 and 30. Here we are dealing with a new mechanism for accepting Komsomol members on the basis of voluntary participation, individual approach, real collective evaluation and the strict requirements which must be met by every young person. Naturally, this is not to say that we shall become an elitist organization. Our purpose is to be an organization in which the majority of young people will participate and work and influence the entire youth, rallying it around the party's strategy and policies.

Autonomy is a feature which concentrates the ability of the organization to support and develop the initiative of each one of its members and the ability of Komsomol collectives to formulate and support youth problems and live their own lives.

The combination of all of these characteristics under the new conditions is what is needed in order for the Komsomol to change from an organization which guides the young from above into an organization of the young people themselves.

Marusya Prodanova, Komsomol secretary at the Elektronika Plant in Kyustendil:

How will the interests of young people be protected under the conditions of self-government? Does this not require a change in the legal status?

Andrey Bundzhulov: Your question touches upon the coordination between the work of state and public authorities and young people under conditions of self-government, and their interaction with the Dimitrov Komsomol, i.e., the so called state-social youth mechanism, the legal foundations of which were laid with Council of Ministers Decree No 70 of 1980 and Directive No 13 of the minister of finance. The conclusion we reached is that under the new circumstances this mechanism must be eliminated in self-government and reorganized on an essentially new basis. This basis is the July concept. The Komsomol is an organic part of the self-governing communities and youth problems, both social and spiritual, are above all problems of the self-governing communities themselves.

Our main idea is that youth policy will be exercised not separately but as an organic part of self-government and that the Komsomol is an equal partner in its formulation and implementation.

The approach and ways of solving housing, consumer, education and other problems is being changed radically. The solution of this problem will be backed by the resources of the self-governing communities.

All of this means that the assets of the self-governing communities will become available to the young people but not on the principle of equalization but of socialist justice. Meeting the needs and interests of young people and financing youth initiatives will be based also on the results of youth labor.

We must realize that we are working in a new political, economic and social situation. Qualitatively new opportunities are being created for the development of youth initiative. Funds for youth activities will be collected on the basis of the laws and regulations of the corresponding communities. In the final account, however, this will be based on the conditions prevailing in these communities and the real contribution by the young. At the same time, the Komsomol committees and organizations themselves must make use of their possibilities for collecting their own funds.

Naturally, however perfect a given law may be, in itself it does not solve the problems. The Komsomol must adopt a new stance as a defender of youth interests, organically combined with the collective and social interests, as an efficient political force. This is largely related to our participation in self-governing authorities. The truth is that unless we learn how to assume an active stance in their establishment and their work, figuratively speaking we will be left "outside the game."

Marina Zarkova: Hello Comrade Bundzhulov. These days we are celebrating a common holiday, the 60th anniversary of the RMS. I am one of the first members of the RMS in Svishtov. I was a member of the Komsomol Central Committee between 1959 and 1963. The anniversary, in my view, is not merely a solemn occasion. To me it takes me back to my youth and makes me look at yours. I would very much like to remind you of the following: is it not time to restore on a broader basis the individual method of work with Komsomol members, the method practiced by the RMS. I am left with the impression that in your organization today it is as though the individual becomes lost in the organization.

Andrey Bundzhulov: Comrade Zarkova, I am pleased that you have phoned us and that which you share with us builds another bridge from the revolutionary traditions of the RMS to the present. We must not only engage much more skillfully in individual work but, in general, we must master the art of working with the

individual. The RMS was based on specific youth interests and this is one of the basic trends in our restructuring. We must develop, enrich and continue, under the new circumstances, the ideals and values, the morality and spiritual force which were bequeathed to us by the RMS. We can say that the RMS remains our foundation today, and more than ever before we must learn from it honesty, principle-mindedness, comradeship, work and dedication, for restructuring is not only a deep change but a return to the roots, to the values, to the sources of our revolutionary movement.

05003

New Statistical Methods, Automation
22000037 Sofia IKONOMIKA in Bulgarian
Apr 88 pp 3-14

[Article by Prof Dano Balevski, doctor of economic sciences: "Development and Improvement of Social Statistics an Urgent Problem of Socialist Society"]

[Excerpts]

Introduction

The principles of revolutionary restructuring advanced in the USSR, in other fraternal countries and in our country raise very acutely the problem of developing and improving social statistics as an important and essential tool for gathering and processing social information about society's human resources.

Democratization, glasnost, and self-management in socialist society require omnifaceted, comprehensive social information about society's human resources, about their status, use and self-esteem, about people's opinion and evaluations of BCP economic and social policy, of SSO's [samoupravlyavashtite se stopanski organizatsii, self-managing economic organizations], of enterprises, of obshtinas and oblasts, of government and its agencies.

During restructuring the economic, social, and other problems of socialist society cannot be solved without the necessary social information about the people, the creator of society's material and other goods.

A democratic spirit, glasnost, and self-management of our various communities are impossible unless research (economic, demographic, etc.) is conducted that will equip these communities and agencies of social management at all levels with the necessary social information about the human being, the people, the individual, social strata, groups and classes in the socialist society.

In present-day socialist society the development and improvement of social statistics involve overall restructuring of socialist statistics and evaluation of the part it plays and its responsibility in society, as well as its conversion into an effective tool of the revolutionary

socialist restructuring that is taking place in the USSR and in the other fraternal socialist countries in keeping with the specifics in each country taken individually. In this regard we have the attractive example of the USSR where radical, revolutionary restructuring of Soviet socialist statistics is under way in conformity with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, with subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and with the Soviet Government's decisions regarding radical restructuring of statistics in the socialist society.

The essence of the restructuring of Soviet statistics reduces mainly to the following:

First, the organizational level and status of Soviet statistics have been raised. Accordingly the part statistics plays and its responsibility in the restructuring process and in the guidance of Soviet society's total life have been elevated.

Second, under the new conditions the analytic function of statistics is clearly emphasized. Analysis of the socio-economic realities in the USSR is the most important function of the State Statistics Committee in the USSR and the union republics, in all statistical agencies in the USSR, which shows that the Leninist maxim—statistics is a powerful tool of social knowledge—here finds striking confirmation. And this knowledge enables the USSR's problems of socioeconomic development to be solved better, more thoroughly and more scientifically.

Third, exceptionally great attention is paid to the reduction and simplification of statistical bookkeeping, to the campaign against "bookkeeping run wild," which slows down the work of accounting units and diverts the attention of managerial and executive personnel from their principal functions. The level of methods work has been elevated to a significantly higher stage, and this is a prerequisite and condition for improvement of the analytic activity of statistics, which in final analysis is the most important, the paramount thing for the active, revolutionary participation of Soviet statistics in restructuring and in providing glasnost, democracy and self-management with the necessary statistical information.

Fourth, restructuring of statistics in the USSR also involves decisive betterment of the reliability of statistical information—a campaign against padding, deception and falsehood in statistics, against this great social evil that subverts successful socioeconomic development.

Fifth, serious attention is paid to the development and improvement of social statistics in the USSR by creating the necessary organizational preconditions as well.

Soviet statistics has also been assigned a number of other functions, but we have dwelt on the most essential—the paramount—ones, which in our opinion are of generally valid significance for socialist society, for the elevation

of statistical activity to a still higher level and for the enhancement of statistics' social effectiveness in the practical world of socialist society.

On the other hand, we have dwelt on these questions in order to underscore that the development and improvement of social statistics is not purely a Bulgarian "phenomenon," but a social necessity of socialist society, which is moving at a rapid pace towards fuller democracy, glasnost and self-management while, absent widely developed social statistics, these things will be slowed down to some extent in their development. The statistical characteristics that can yield social statistics will play the role of catalyst in the processes involved in democratization, glasnost and self-management. Hence, revolutionary restructuring in socialist society requires also an adequate statistical model corresponding to the model of the socialism under construction in our country. This holds true with special force also for the development and improvement of social statistics as part of the general statistics model of the Bulgarian People's Republic, adequate for the model for building of the socialism approved by the July (1987) Plenum of the BCP Central Committee and the 1988 National Party Conference.

The computerization of social statistics is an important trend in the development and improvement of Bulgarian statistics. Experience in the study of census data and sociological sampling investigations have shown and proved that the necessary computer facilities have been created in our country to permit the execution in short order and at a high standard of major and comprehensive studies of social statistics on a contractual basis. A superb part in this regard has been played by the National Computer Center and by the territorial computer centers, while in sociological sampling investigations a great and important part has been played by the territorial centers in the city of Shumen, the city of Pazardzhik and the city of Vratsa. The Shumen center designed, programmed and processed information for the exceedingly complex "City-Countryside 86" sociological investigation—and with high professional expertise and competence to boot.

All this gives us reason to conclude that the computerization of social statistics is not only necessary, but possible as well, which is a precondition and condition for the rapid development and improvement of Bulgarian social statistics and of our socialist statistics on the whole.

Innovations in Designing and Programming of Machine Processing of Census Data

First, the designing and programming by means of a system of standardized tags of all census cards was a success. As a result, especially great effect and excellent

results were obtained in correlation the data between card "A" and card "ZhS"—the former for population, the latter for Zh [Zhilishta; dwelling units] and S [sgradi; buildings].

Second, combining of card "A" and card "ZhS" into a general census sheet, i.e., into a single document; inclusion of people's EGN [edinen grazhdanski nomer, uniform civil number] in card "A," from which number the person's age and sex was automatically computed by the computer.

Third, at computer centers an electronic register of the control regions and census sectors was created and used in all census offices.

Fourth, a table-producing generator was developed and successfully introduced in population data processing.

Fifth, an important innovation is the replacement of the punch card as a technical carrier by magnetic tape through the use of ES9003 and ES9005 multiconsole systems, something which revolutionized information processing.

Many other innovations as well were introduced which made it possible to process large-volume information in 2 years and this is an indubitable contribution to our social statistics.

We have already emphasized that the population and housing-stock census conducted in 1985 and the "sociological explosion" that followed during the census and thereafter laid the foundations of the future development of social statistics. It can also definitely be emphasized that the sociological approach, applied on a wide scale and with the necessary scientific method, is the main result for the development and improvement of Bulgarian statistics. This approach brought Bulgarian statistics up to the national and world scale, closer to the needs of restructuring in socialist Bulgaria, and made it a more effective instrument of the Bulgarian Communist Party's socialist policy. It equipped society with social information about the human factor, about the "demos" that is the veritable creator of material and cultural goods without which society cannot live, think and philosophize, restructure, complete the scientific and technical revolution, cultivate productive forces and production relations.

To be sure, we cannot stop here! The question arises: What is to be done hereafter?

The governing body of the Central Statistical Administration has answered this question on the basis of socialist society's information needs and the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and subsequent plenums. This answer discloses the outlook for the development and improvement of social statistics in our country up to

1990 and thereafter. The directions outlined by the TsSU [Central Statistical Administration] governing board reduce to the following:

First, further development and improvement of our socialist statistics through functional integration of current demographic statistics with the population and housing-stock census and the ESGRAON [Integrated Civil Registration and Administrative Population Services System].

Second, gradual updating of information about the human factor and its housing and living conditions by conducting microcensuses between censuses. For the first time in our 100-year history of Bulgarian statistics our government has agreed to the taking of a microcensus in 1990. Preparations for conducting it have begun at a crash pace due to the complexity of the problem and our lack of statistical experience in this area.

Third, constant provision of social management agencies at all levels with social information on the most important and vital problems of socioeconomic and public-economic development at the macro-, meso- and micro-level. The necessary organization-and-personnel and other preconditions have been created to solve these problems and to concretize them.

As of 1 January 1988 the Programming, Planning and Budgeting Staff for the Population and Housing-Stock Census expanded into the Programming, Planning and Budgeting Staff for Construction of an Integrated Sociodemographic Statistics System, retaining its previous statute. At the same time, the Population and Housing-Stock Census offices in the respective statistical agencies in the former okrugs expanded into offices for conducting sociodemographic investigations by questionnaire and the microcensus in 1990.

What problems must be solved before 1990?

The TsSU governing body has formulated with the necessary accuracy the tasks in social statistics, as follows:

First, formulation of the problems in constructing an integrated sociodemographic statistics system through gradual organic integration of current demographic statistics with the population and housing-stock census and the ESGRAON system.

Second, preparation for and constructing of the population and housing-stock microcensus in 1990—a new task for us, with great opportunities for enriching the stock of social information about our country's human factor.

Third, conduct of a series of demographic-questionnaire, sociological and other investigations on vitally important questions of our development, such as:

—the Bulgarian nations' time budget—a component part of the census scientific-research program. The investigation is under way and has to be completed by the end of 1988. Every calendar day in 1988, 25 households will be observed from the perspective of the time-budget research program;

—provision of the population with food and nonfood-stuffs; the even flow in supply and other problems due to our country's existing shortages, etc.;

—improvement in the selection and quality of industrial goods and other like investigations;

—housing conditions, medical care, transportation services, etc.;

—study of the living conditions of the elderly population, the proportion of which is constantly growing; the provision of pensions, etc.;

—investigation of conditions of recreation, rest and rehabilitation of workers' health and many other problems of a social-welfare character, which are of essential importance for development and improvement of the socialist way of life and the people's living standards. For the purpose an appropriate comprehensive program will be formulated which will cover the period 1988-1995.

All this will create the preconditions and conditions for the development of our social statistics and for bringing them into conformity with the requirements of the restructuring now taking place in our country, as well as for creating an important part of the necessary information base for the building of socialism in our country.

Conclusion

We have tried to delineate the directions in which our social statistics will develop in the next few years, i.e., up to 1990. But we would like to emphasize that this course of its development and improvement will extend to the year 2000 as well.

It is assumed that in 1995 a population and housing-stock microcensus will be conducted again that will update social information about human resources and enrich the country's information resources. It is also expected that a general population and housing-stock census will be conducted in the year 2000 that will fall within the framework of the population and housing-stock censuses taken in years ending in "0" (1980, 1990, 2000, etc.). At the same time, various sociodemographic and other investigations will also be conducted, enriching social information about the human factor of our socialist society. The social information, which will be a product of the development and improvement of Bulgarian social statistics up to 2000, will be an effective tool in the hands of social-management agencies at all levels in carrying out the party's social policy. As a result, problems in the people's social development and economic

prosperity will be solved better and more rationally. Restructuring in the social area will be carried out more successfully, and opportunities for the further building of socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic will be better revealed.

6474/12223

Electrification of Railroads, Background, Progress
22000033 Sofia ZHELEZOPUTEN TRANSPORT
in Bulgarian Mar 88 pp 38-41

[Article by Senior Science Associate and Candidate of Technical Sciences Lyuben Pomakov, IEZhT [not further identified], possibly Institut za Elektrifikatsiya na Zhelezoputen Transport, Institute for Electrification of Rail Transport]: "Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of Electrification of BDZh [Bulgarian State Railways] Lines"]

[Text] On 27 April 1988, 25 years will have elapsed since the ceremonial opening for operation of the first electrified railroad line in our country from Sofia to Plovdiv.

The attention of our railroad scientific and technical thought has always concentrated on the problem of continuously improving traction and introducing the most efficient types. The idea of introducing electrical traction sprang up and evolved consecutively, as follows:

—the monograph, "Electrification of Railroads and Profitability of Electric Traction. Status of the Question in Switzerland, France and Austria. Prospects for Electrification of Some of Our Railroad Lines Due to Development of the Traffic Over Them and Local Conditions," elaborated in 1926 as a result of a competition announced by the Science Committee of the Main Rail Directorate;

—1929 proposals of a study group of Hungarian engineers, headed up by the well-known electric locomotive designer Kando, for electrification of the Sofia-Vladaya-Pernik section in a 25-kV, 50-Hz system;

—1945-1947 designs, plans and specifications for electrification of the single-track direct-current 3000-V Sofia Mezdra railroad line and commencement of its construction with building of a traction substation and service point at Iliyantsi and installation of the pole line in the Iliyantsi-Svoje section.

Commencement of the planned electrification of our railroad lines was initiated by the decision of the Seventh BCP Congress (1958). After the elaboration in a short time of a preliminary, detail and contractor design for electrification of the Sofia-Plovdiv railroad section, building was started and successfully completed in 1962 with its entry into trial operation. At the same time a start was made on the consecutive and stage-by-stage

completion of the electrification of the remaining railroad sections of the BDZh network. The execution of the projected electrification program during the past 25-year period can be seen from the data in Table 1.

The quarter of a century that has elapsed since this memorable date for our rail transportation warrants not only our evaluating what has been accomplished, but also looking into the future towards what we still have to do to raise the efficiency of our electrified rail transportation.

The results of the transport and operational work done during the past 25 years have confirmed the correctness of the decisions, "risky" for their time, made under conditions of stormy debates on the following:

—choice of type of traction—electric or diesel, on the basis of which to reconstruct and modernize our rail transportation;

—choice of electrification system in respect of type of current—direct or alternating with commercial frequency.

At the end of 1987 the electrified railroad lines constituted 60 percent of the current track, while the relative share of transportation by electric traction constituted 80 percent of all haulage performed by rail transport. During the 25-year period, as a result of the electrification of railroad lines the national economy saves (expressed in absolute terms) over 3,302,000 tons of diesel fuel. This confirmed electrification to be one of the basic, technologically efficient trends in the reconstruction and modernization under way in rail transportation.

Although Bulgaria was one of the first countries in the world to decide to electrify its rail lines in a 25-kV, 50-Hz system, practical experience has confirmed the advantages of the system selected—minimum capital investment, relatively little fixed capital put additionally into operation, and relatively low level of annual operating expenses for maintenance, repair and reconditioning.

The electrification of our railway lines, especially in the period until 1980, was a model also of the pace of adoption of scientific and technical progress. From the very beginning, thanks to the joint efforts of the specialists of Transproekt TPP [Transportation Study and Design Institute]; Lenin VMEI [Higher Machine-Electrical Institute]; NIIT [Scientific Research Institute of Transportation], now IEZhT; V. Kolarov STZ [High-Voltage Equipment Plant]; Lenin ZEP [Electric Porcelain Products Plant] at Nikolaevo; G. Dimitrov ZhPZ [Railroad Plant]; Vibrobeton, and many others, as well as to the invaluable assistance of soviet specialists and institutes, in a record short time a vast range of products, new to our country, was developed and brought into production, such as: 6667-kVA traction transformers; single-phase circuit breakers and isolating switches for

Table 1

Year in which exploitation began	Designation of the Electrified Sector	Length of the Electrified Lines, in kilometers	
		For the Sector	Total
1963 (27.04)	Sofia-Plovdiv	150	—
1963	Ruse-Gorna Oryakhovitsa	118	277
1964	Gorna Oryakhovitsa-Pleven; G. Oryakhovitsa-branch-Resen	110	387
1965	Pleven-Cherven brvag	53	440
1966	Cherven brvag-Mezdra; Kazichene-Musachevo-Obedinena	69	509
1967	Sofia-Iliyantsi-Krenikovtsi-Yana	31	540
1968	Yana-Karlovo-Musachevo-Stolnik	135	675
1969	Iliyantsi-Birimirtsii-Poduvane-Chavdar; Ruse-branch-Dorostol	39	714
1970	Karlovo-Tulovo	74	788
1971	Tulovo-Karnobat	134	922
1972	Karnobat-Burgas	61	983
1973	Polikraishte-Yantra	6	989
1974	Karnobat-Sindel	123	1112
1975	Sindel-Varna; Razdelna-Devnya	42	1154
1976	Simnitsa-Yambol; Gorna Oryakhovitsa-Plachkovtsi	77	1231
1977	Plachkovtsi-Dubovo	45	1276
1978	Yambol-Nova Zagora	45	1321
1979	Nova Zagora-Stara Zagora-Tulovo; Sindel-line-Sindel branch; Kurilo-Svetovrachene	150	1471
1980 (29.04)	Inauguration of the Small Electrified Railways		
1980	St. Zagora-Chirpan	45	1516
1981	Chirpan-Plovdiv, p.-Ruse-s.-Ruse-i.-Ruse-r.-Samuil; Sindel-Razdelna	179	1695
1982	Samuil-Sindel; Mezdra-Bovchinovtsi; Mikhaylovo-Gita	166	1861
1983	Bovchinovtsi-Lom; Sofia-Bankya; G. Oryakhovitsa-Dzhulyunitsa	95	1956
1984	Dzhulyunitsa-Asenovo; Kaspichan-N. Pazar; Sofia-Krakra	61	2017
1984 (19.03)	Inauguration of the Large Electrified Railways		
1985	Asenovo-Kaspichan; Karlovo-Filipovo; Krakra-Radomir; Razdelna- Varna-south	225	2242
1986	Shumen-komunari; Devnya-Chernevo; Khan Krum-Preslav	66	2308
1987	Birimirtsii-Voluyak-Pernik; Brusartsi-Vidin; Razmenna-Temelkovo	160	2468

outdoor and indoor installation; current and voltage instrument transformers; five varieties of line-post and anchor insulators; ferroconcrete and iron-lattice posts; over 3,000 listings of cantilevers and carrying, holding and enforcing elements for the overhead contact system and traction substations, and many others. With the active participation of the specialists and workers of Transstroy [Transport Construction], in a short time the installation of all the assemblies and elements of the overhead contact system was mastered—the installation of the semicompensation-circuit contact system that had been developed being especially difficult.

As a result of the continuously conducted scientific-research and planning-and-design work, with each new electrified section in turn new elements, assemblies and designs, such as the following, were introduced into the power-supply systems of the electrified sections:

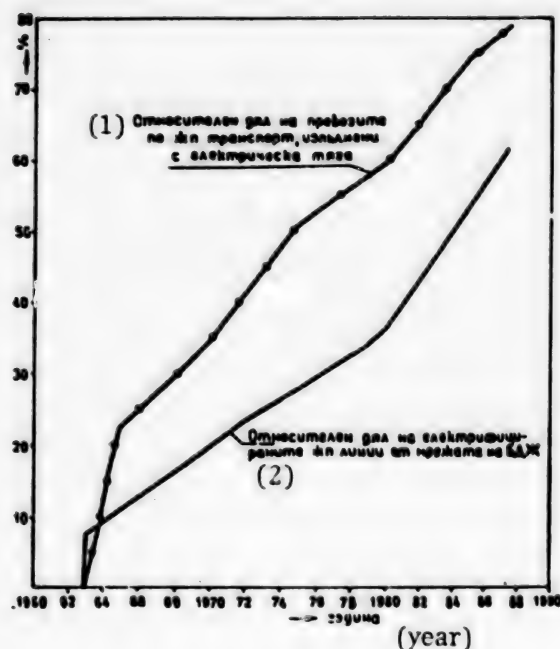
—an expanded range of traction transformers through mastery of the production of 8300-kVA and 10,000-kVA transformers with switches for voltage regulation under a load;

—suspension of overhead contact system on firm cross-arms;

—outdoor 27.5-kV switch gear at traction substations and outdoor section posts;

—compensation contact system (standardized) with spring droppers in support assemblies for all our sections with speeds up to 160 km/hr;

—contact system with continuous carrying cable for electrification of secondary railroad-station tracks and railroad sections under a light load;



1. The percentage of electrified rail lines using electrified power
2. The percentage of electrified rail lines in the Bulgarian State Railways network

—oblique contact system for curves with short radii;

—contact system with height reduced to minimum, and polymer insulating elements for the suspension and securing thereof in tunnels with clearance limitation;

—contact system with taut cables for enhancement of its wind resistance;

—reduction of the weight of the design of carrying, holding and reinforcing elements of the contact system;

—transverse compensation of the reactive power at the traction substations;

—reduction of energy losses and improvement of the voltage level in the contact system through introduction of parallel operation of traction substations;

—automation of operation of traction substations through introduction of automatic voltage regulators, automatic circuit-breaker reclosers, automatic locators of short circuits in the contact system;

—enhancement of the reliability of relay protective gear at traction substations through introduction of PTC (protection against third harmonic of current), and much else besides.

Simultaneously with the evolution of the stationary power-supply equipment for the electrified railroad sections, the locomotive fleet evolved as well. With the subsequent redesign and modernization—performed by the producer-plant—of the first Series 41 electric locomotives, supplied by the Skoda plants in Pilsen (Czechoslovakia) for the Sofia-Plovdiv section, their operational reliability rose significantly. Every subsequent delivery of electric locomotives that were put into service resulted in betterments and improvements of quality. The locomotives of Series 42, 43 and, above all, 43R demonstrated in practice their high work productivity, operational reliability and maintainability. The technology introduced for the hauling of trains, and the utilization of their kinetic energy made it possible to introduce heavy-freight traffic, which produced good results in the sections with limited carrying capacity. Suburban transportation has also found a relatively good solution with service by electric trains with Series 32 motorized cars. Series 46 six-axle electric locomotives were also introduced.

The organization of operational and repair activity in electrified rail transportation is also up to a good level, thanks to specialists and workers from the power sections and the electric locomotive roundhouses. The established-standards and materials-and-machinery base that has been created permits efficient performance of all planned and unplanned random tasks that arise, resulting from daily operational activity. Here, too, a number of new maintenance and repair technologies find application: work on the contact system without disconnection of the voltage or interruption of train traffic in the specific areas, integrated inspections and repairs, adoption of modular-assembly repair methods, pre- and post-repair diagnostics of electric locomotives, etc.

Our country's achievements during the past 25 years are significant, but at the moment our lag behind the leading world railroad administrations in the sphere of electrification is significant, too. The range of questions awaiting solution and the gap are growing. They stem from the necessity of continuously raising the efficiency of rail transport operation as a whole and, hence, of its electrified sections. The tasks we face are many, but chief among them are the following.

Raising the Reliability of Technical Facilities

Here the contact system must be considered first, damage to which results in interruption of the transportation process. In respect of the level of contact-system fault rate, our country ranks as one of the first in the world,

with indicators three to six times as bad as those of countries with an average level of designs in operation. A drastic change is needed here which can be effected in the following ways.

—speedy development and introduction into practice of three measurement-computer complexes (railroad car-laboratories) for day-to-day contact-system diagnostics;

—construction of an information-and-planning system for keeping track of reliability indicators and evaluation of the efficiency of repair and operational work;

—changeover to repair, planned and unplanned, in volume and within time limits conformable with the specific operational state of the contact system in the specific railroad sections;

—employment of modern mechanization and up-to-date technologies.

Urgent tasks in the area of locomotive facilities are the improvement and an increase in the reliability of the pantograph collectors of electric locomotives as a whole and of the electric equipment of Series 46 electric locomotives.

Reduction of Traffic Interruptions

To reduce to a minimum unproductive interruptions of the transportation process for the performance of planned or chance preventive-maintenance, repair and reconditioning work on the stationary power-supply equipment of the electrified railroad sections, the following are necessary:

—accelerated stage-by-stage construction of the BDZh automated system of electric dispatcher supervision that includes the basic level—telemechanization of individual electric dispatcher circuits, construction of regional electric dispatcher centers, and their typing-in with BDZh central electric dispatcher supervision;

—proper and timely saturation of operational links with up-to-date facilities for heavy-, medium- and light-weight mechanization of repair operations, and of technologies with technologically efficient repair equipment.

Improvement of Power-Engineering Indicators

This must be accomplished through the introduction of new, and the improvement of existing, designs and technologies, such as the following:

—automation of the work of electric traction stock and of the systems for hauling trains therewith;

—new electric traction stock with better power indicators and improved existing stock;

—regenerative braking of electric traction stock;

—power-supply systems for electrified railroad lines that will ensure minimum power losses during transmission to traction consumers (such as 2 x 25 kV);

—new designs of contact systems with improved power indicators and enhanced operational reliability;

—adoption of polymer materials in the designs of contact systems, and much else.

The balance sheet we have drawn up on the 25th anniversary of the entry into active operation of our first electrified section shows we are on the right path, but it obligates us to put forth in the future as well all our energies, knowledge and skills to bring the electrification of our railroad lines up to the level of the best in the world.

6474/9274

HUNGARY

Press Freedom Still Limited Despite Pressure From Journalists

23000138 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER

ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 4 Aug 88 p 19

[Article by Farkas Piroshka: "Hungary Strives for Press Freedom"]

[Text] Documents recently published by the Hungarian periodical "MOZGO VILAG" (World in Motion) concerning an attempt to found an independent press club, provide glimpses into the workings of a socialist press establishment and the Party's dealings with the media that have been the exception rather than the rule to date. The editors of the widely read cultural monthly, which was suspended twice in the past for its treatment of taboo subjects, decided to publish the material because of the apparently endless controversy surrounding the "Openness Club". Among the goals of the club are the discussion of the steps necessary to achieve openness for the civilian population and to defend the right to report freely. The project is being supported by "MOZGO VILAG's" editor-in-chief, as well as by its reporters, by many well-known journalists on the staff of the "NEPS-ZABADSAG", the Party's central organ, and by the Government's organ, "MAGYAR HIRLAP", and by several members of radio and television.

What happened? As early as a year ago, encouraged by reports of a political reform that were circulating at the time, a group of journalists pressed for a stock-taking to show what the current status of the press in the country was. Although a study had already been done, and even though it had met with widespread approval among those concerned, it was agreed to wait for a study of the MUOSZ, the official journalists' association, in order to avoid any potential conflicts. By January, 1988, the journalists' association's position paper was ready. MUOSZ could not decide on a public forum to release its

findings. Thus it came to be that the smallest of the association's member organizations, the one representing the student press, finally convened a meeting to discuss both studies.

On 14 January there was a heated confrontation among the approximately 200 participants between the association's leadership and the journalists who were in favor of reform. The association's document was rejected out of hand by everyone—with the exception of the members of MUOSZ's leadership—as an attempt to keep patching up a flawed system. The present model of Party-oriented mass information that takes the place of public opinion in this country was declared bankrupt by Richard Hirschler, the former Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the periodical "HETI VILAGGAZDASAG" (World Economic Weekly), who spoke on behalf of many. At the Party's insistence, Hirschler was removed from this post a short time ago. In Party circles, the press continues to be regarded as a collective agitator, propagandist, and organizer, and, Hirschler continued, the Party expected journalists to continue to be a "responsible, politically active, forward-looking, and a mobilizing force". He said there were no laws governing the relationship between the Party and the media it controls, that pure arbitrariness was the rule.

Taboo and Fiction

From his remarks it was possible to learn what means were at the disposal of the censors of the press in Hungary: among other things, the Party issues a daily list of those topics that it does not want to see dealt with in the press. The purpose of the taboos was to maintain political fictions, such as the fairy tale about the total unity and infallibility of the powers that be. Thus, even in this day and age, it is impossible to admit that the current 5-year plan, and thus the program of the 13th Party Congress, is a failure, Hirschler said. A woman who worked for the radio pointed to the practice of removing unobliging journalists from their jobs without presenting any political or job-related justification for doing so. Other speakers spoke of the tried and true ways in which the Party organs exerted an influence over policy when it came to day-to-day reporting.

At least as many attacks were launched at the chairman of the Association of Journalists as at Party-directed policies of the press. It was charged that the chairman was the Central Committee's lackey. Thus, it was only logical when Endre Babus, of "HETI VILAGGAZDASAG", called for the foundation of a "Openness Club", a forum that should present an opportunity to take the steps necessary for a basic reform of the workings of the press and the media. That same evening, many of those present signed the appeal for the foundation of the club; by the beginning of May, the number of journalists and editors who had joined them had grown to 150.

The events which followed show only too clearly how narrow, in spite of the rhetoric of reform, the limits of tolerance are. The proposed club became the target of defamatory attacks in the press of the worst sort. The central organ of the Association of Journalists stood out in particular because it denounced the club's founders as enemies of the system. One public function, at which Hirschler and another of the club's founders were to speak, was not provided with a meeting place at the insistence of the Agitprop Department of the Central Committee. When the club's founders then turned to Politburo member Berecz in a letter, they received a reply whose tone could only be construed as insulting.

A Club Raises a Furor

Party Chief Karoly Grosz even attended the next meeting of the Presidium of the Association of Journalists, and once again, naturally, the projected founding of the club was a topic of discussion. Grosz instructed the Editor-in-Chief of the Government organ "MAGYAR HIRLAP" to talk to the signers of the charter, "not to put any pressure on them, but to learn what they are doing working for a Government paper". He said he did not like this business, and even if no one wanted to thwart anyone's attempts. Grosz added that the Government reserved the right to decide for itself with whom it wanted to deal.

Repudiation of this initiative is by no means generally shared throughout the Party. Unlike the Party Chief, other functionaries are expressly in favor of admitting the club. That is how the matter stands up to the present time. No decision has as yet been made. The initiative's chances have improved a great deal in the meantime, because it has been heartily supported by members of all the media.

Attacks aimed at the Press Law of 1986, which was lauded by the Party leadership as the high point of Socialist freedom of the press, have not shown any signs of letting up, and they are already beginning to show practical consequences. Editors-in-Chief are becoming more courageous; names and topics are appearing in the media that until just a few months ago were taboo. After many years of imposed silence, the authors Istvan Eoersi and Gyorgi Konrad are allowed to publish once more in the literary newspaper; the periodical "HETI VILAGGAZDASAG" printed an interview with an opponent of the dam projects on the Danube that aroused a great deal of attention, and even the boring, cautious central organ of the Party, "NEPSZABADSAG" has become exciting reading.

Hardly any other phenomenon in Hungarian society has so clearly shown the end of the Kadar era as clearly as the current debate on freedom of the press. The country's intellectuals are no longer content to occupy the niches that an authoritarian government dictated for them.

The springtime of the press, which broke out just a short time ago, should not lead anyone astray toward overly high expectations. As long as it is a matter of civil courage to publicize certain simple truths, as long as the Press Law requires journalists to pursue the aims of Socialist structure, and as long as editorial positions are not given out by the information media of the Party and Government, but orders of the day are issued to representatives of the press, and as long as Party functionaries can block the editors responsible from publishing articles, or stories about entire topics by making a single telephone call, the establishment of a "Openness Club" will be a highly desirable event for the Hungarian press. Its members will have plenty to do.

13248

POLAND

Constitutional Tribunal: Role in Safeguarding Law, Order

26000394b Warsaw RADA NARODOWA in Polish
No 14, 2 Apr 88 p 7

[Article by Lech Winiarski: "On Guard for Legality"]

[Text] The Constitutional Tribunal has existed barely two years, but it already plays a significant role in our public life. Together with the Chief Administrative Court, it is an important pillar of the political renewal, the democratization of the order and the protection of citizens' rights. Beginning on 1 January 1988, the ombudsman for citizens' rights also performs this function. This situation is worth emphasizing, among other reasons, because this year 40 years have passed since the United Nations issued the Declaration of Human Rights. But, primarily, these new institutions should be treated as legal and constitutional guarantees that insure the effectiveness of the socialist system, protecting it from internal tensions and removing sources of disturbance between the citizenry and the organs of authority.

Capitalism, during the course of the two centuries after the French Revolution, has succeeded in constructing many such guarantees in its state mechanisms. We frequently think that in our conditions they are unnecessary. Popular rule was somehow to automatically dissolve social conflicts. Moreover, the administrative apparatus resisted institutions capable of thoroughly and authoritatively controlling the administration's operations in creating law. Such institutions would be an infringement of the useful "comfort of the authorities." This resistance was overcome after the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, which strengthened the reform forces both in and outside the party.

On 10 March 1988, Alfons Klafkowski, president of the Constitutional Tribunal, reported to the Sejm on the activities of the Tribunal in 1987. The report confirms the general reflections presented here. The Tribunal

adjudicated 18 cases concerning the agreement of laws with the Constitution of the PRL or the agreement of other normative acts with the constitution or laws.

The adjudication of the Tribunal concerns problems of great social significance. It begins either at the request of the trade unions, or the agricultural branch associations, or as a response to a legal inquiry formulated by the president of the Chief Administrative Court. The Tribunal has also taken up four cases on its own initiative, on the basis of an analysis of citizens' complaints and recommendations.

Among the cases that have had broad social significance is that of the Council of Minister's revocation of provisions regulating the application of the law of 29 April 1985 on land commerce and the expropriation of real estate because it violates the Administrative Procedures Code. As a result of the legally mistaken provision, many individuals could not receive an equivalent for property left abroad. This applied to repatriates, who frequently found themselves in a difficult material straits.

The Tribunal judged the decree of the minister of health and social services of 31 December 1985, which gave preferences to men for admission to medical studies because of the excessive feminization of the health service, to be unconstitutional. It violated the principle of citizens' equality.

Among the other things on the Tribunal's docket were questions of constitutionality and conformity to the law of some provisions of the law on insurance for individual farmers, the legality of normative acts for rationing coal for heating, commerce between units of the socialized economy.

In most cases, the decisions of the Tribunal were properly acted upon by the government. There was an acceleration of the reaction by the administration in comparison with the previous year. This practice demonstrates the respect for the Tribunal and growing conviction of the effectiveness of its actions.

Another confirmation of this effectiveness are the cases of the revocation or change of various administrative regulations after the initiation of a case brought before the Tribunal, but before it has rendered a decision in the given case. This practice also shows the greater self-control of the main state administrative bodies, and also, one can assume, the increased role of the legal services in the ministries. There were five such cases, and we should greet them with satisfaction. But it is still difficult to speak of a significant improvement in the governmental bodies' operations in the normative sphere. Reports from citizens that reach the Constitutional Tribunal indicate continuing slow progress in this area. This applies not only to correction of bad regulations, but to general improvement in the law.

During the General Session of the Judges of the Constitutional Tribunal (24 February 1988), Prof Leonard Lukaszuk, deputy chairman, spoke on this subject:

"The process of organizing the law is proceeding too slowly and not systematically enough, especially in the ministries, in spite of the fact that currently it is required not only by the adjudication of the Constitutional Tribunal but also by the adjudication of the Supreme Court and the Chief Administrative Court, the inspection activities of the Sejm Commissions and the Supreme Chamber of Control and also to a limited degree by the institution of a register of legal acts in the ministry of justice. The new government proposal to organize the law will undoubtedly provide a new stimulus. Nevertheless, there are still too few bold, broadly drawn initiatives in the area of organizing the law from the ministries themselves."

Here one should add that after the reorganization of the central bodies and after releasing the ministries from direct management, they have special reasons for appropriately developing legal provisions for a new system for managing the economy.

In addition to adjudication, indicating existing legal gaps in published normative acts is another important task of the Constitutional Tribunal. The Tribunal makes use in this area of the citizens' many complaints and recommendations. In 1987 there were 750 of them. (In 1986 there were 576.) Although 90 percent of them concern personal problems, they are an important source of information on the faults of many legal acts. Unfortunately until now, efforts to get the courts and central state bodies to report such facts to the Constitutional Tribunal have been unsuccessful. As Kazimierz Dzialocha said at the session of the judges of the Constitutional Tribunal, only the president of the Chief Administrative Court is a praiseworthy exception. The situation will probably improve, for on 18 March a new regulation on internal operations of the general courts went into force. Citing the law on the Constitutional Tribunal, it calls for the courts to report to the ministry of justice, the Supreme Court, and other bodies cases in which there are some legal acts that do not agree with the constitution or laws so that these cases can be forwarded to the Constitutional Tribunal.

The legality, which the Constitutional Tribunal guards, requires protection both in the interests of the state and the citizenry. The constitution expresses the intention to respect the human rights of workers. If legal acts of a lower level contradict this intention, the principle of legality requires not only their revocation or change but also the removal of the effects of the acts that have been judged illegal. The point is to make good on the damage done. The Supreme Court followed this principle when, on 4 December 1987, it established in its resolution that the housing payments collected by the administration on

the basis of the provision judged by the Tribunal to contradict the constitution and the law are undue payments. Thus, they are to be returned.

In speaking of the influence of the Constitutional Tribunal on the democratization of social relations, Prof Alfons Klafkowski stated in his report for the Sejm:

"As a result of these activities, there has been a significant broadening of the rights of many groups of citizens through the revocation or the causing of the revocation of about 20 legal executive acts, usually to laws that these acts, contrary to the intentions of the legislative authority, limited the laws to various degrees."

The adjudication of the Constitutional Tribunal, and also its indicative activities, make it possible to list the most frequent sins of the administration. First, main administrative bodies exceed their legal authority to publish executive acts. This overstepping is associated with the need to precisely delimit the range of the authority of the parliament and the government. Practice shows that leaving too many questions in laws to be finally regulated by the ministries usually leads to a distortion of the essence of these fundamental sources of legality. The conclusion follows that the Sejm must construct laws that exclude the formation of similar contradictions. Such care in the creation of the law of 1982 on the insurance of farmers and their families was lacking. The Tribunal discovered that in article 77 of this law there were as many as 13 delegations for precise regulation of various problems by the government.

A continuing serious shortcoming of the procedures of some ministries is a regulation introducing *ex post facto* law. Another negative phenomenon is neglecting the obligation of social consultation in creating law. We recall the recent criticism of the preparations of an amendment to the election law for the people's councils. Both the Sejm and the PRON National Council treated this issue very sharply.

The Constitutional Tribunal operates, as regards procedure, similarly to a general court. However, the effectiveness of its actions does not depend only on the number of cases examined and decisions rendered, although this is what the citizenry expects at times. The point is for this new democratic, socialist institution to influence as clearly as possible the general organization of the law, to influence the growth of the legal culture of all administrative bodies, through the importance of the problems examined, by raising the level and influence of the legal services in all state institutions. The experience of other countries shows that this is a long-term process and that the institutions corresponding to our Constitutional Tribunal, which came into being before it, have as yet much to do.

This process, however, should be accelerated. This means, among other things, bold, systematic overcoming of faulty practices in this area. Sometime representatives

of the administration have defended illegal provisions before the Tribunal by saying that they have been in use for many years. The Tribunal decisively has rejected such "arguments." One can judge that this consistent position of the Tribunal constitutes an important element of the respect it has gained among the functionaries of the government administration. This is the source of its authority in society which sees that it is not in the least a democratic facade, but an important instrument in returning humanistic values to our order.

13021

Statistical Information Provided on Provincial People's Councils

26000394a Warsaw RADA NARODOWA in Polish
No 14, 2 Apr 88 p 11

[Article by H. Archicinska-Gajewska: "The Voivodship Councils in Statistics"; first paragraph is RADA NARODOWA introduction]

[Text] We present a synthetic view of the session activities of the voivodship people's councils during the past year and a compilation of the subjects covered during the sessions.

In 1987 the voivodship people's councils held 305 working sessions. On the average there were 6.2 sessions for each council. The following councils held eight sessions: The Lodz City People's Council, the Guansk, Kalisz, Katowice, and Szczecin Voivodship People's Councils. Ten voivodship people's councils held fewer sessions than the national average, i.e., five sessions; the Biala Podlaska and Suwalki Voivodship People's Councils held four sessions each.

In comparison with 1986 the number of sessions declined insignificantly. In 1986, there were 318 working sessions (an average of 6.5 sessions). The average attendance was 71.4 percent and was lower than the 1986 national average of 73.3 percent.

On the average 9 discussants, including 6 councils members, spoke at each session. The number of interpellations made at each session declined. On the average there were eight interpellations at each session; in 1986, the average was 10.

In sum, at all sessions in 1987, 843 substantive topics were examined. (88 or 11.7 percent more than in 1986.) The average council examined 17 to 18 questions. On the average, two to three topics were examined at each session.

Problem questions, which always ended with the adoption of a resolution, made up 50.7 percent (428 topics) of the total topics at sessions. The evaluation of the implementation of resolutions of the voivodship people's councils adopted in previous years (including voivodship annual plans and budgets for 1986) constituted 34.8

percent of all topics (293 topics). Reports on the operations of subordinate units and of units not subordinate to the councils made up 14.5 percent (122 topics). In comparison with 1986, interest in the implementation of previously adopted programs and goals remained on a similar level.

Problem questions, and evaluations of the implementation of their own resolutions constituted 85.5 percent of all session topics. Issues associated with planned socio-economic tasks and budgets, their performance, and preparations of voivodship socio-economic plans for 1986-90 dominated (26.5 percent of all issues).

The voivodship people's councils took an active interest in the implementation of the programs for their term in office and recommendations and proposals from the election campaign to the people's councils and the Sejm. Such topics constituted 9.1 percent of the total number of issues.

Problems associated with social pathology (harmony, security, public order, child rearing in sober conditions) were third and constituted 8.6 percent of the problem questions. (In 1986, 34 voivodship councils adopted schedules for preventing and combatting social pathology and crime in 1986-90; in 1987, 15 did.) The councils took up issues associated with agriculture, forestry, food commerce, the agricultural and food industry, meliorations, and supplying rural areas with water with similar frequency (8.2 percent).

Issues concerning the development of small-scale manufacturing, local industry, trade, and services made up 5.1 percent of all issues. (In 1986, 37 councils adopted programs of development in this area for 1986-90; in 1987, 12 voivodship people's councils did.)

Protection of the natural environment and water constituted 4.5 percent of all issues; health protection, social welfare, and social issues, 3.6 percent.

The councils' interest in problems of education, training, young people starting out in life, and the physical facilities for education and training was uniform (3.2 percent); regional planning (3.1 percent).

Problems of the dissemination of culture and protection of monuments made up 2.6 percent of all problem questions. The evaluation of sanitary conditions and programs to improve them constituted 2.6 percent; physical education, sport, and tourism, 2.2 percent; housing construction, municipal management, and renovations, 1.8 percent; road and bridge construction, transportation, communications, and supplies of electric power, 2.2 percent.

Fifteen voivodship people's councils evaluated the way citizens' complaints and recommendations were handled and the work of the local state administration and its relations with the citizens (2.1 percent); the problem of

the effects of the economic reform were taken up by two voivodship people's councils. Two councils evaluated the state of work safety and hygiene and the socio-living conditions of employees at work; three introduced prohibitions against raising poppies in some gminas (the Bialystok, Elblag, and Koszalin Voivodship People's Councils).

All of the voivodship people's councils formed socio-economic councils and social inspectors for the Worker and Farmer Inspection for 1987-89.

Evaluation of the people's councils' implementation of the law on the system of people's councils and local self-government (including especially the operations of the local self-government bodies of residents of cities and rural areas) constituted 2.5 percent of all topics; the operations of the people's councils at the basic level, 3.7 percent; the operations of the commissions of the voivodship people's councils and the evaluation of the activeness of councils members, 2.8 percent; transfer of some of the authority of the voivodship people's councils to councils at the basic level, 0.6 percent.

Of the total of all topics covered at sessions, 14.5 percent consisted of reports on essential problems in the given local area and on the current socio-political and economic situation in the given voivodship. In 1987 of the 122 total reports, 40 concerned the results of the operations of the Worker and Farmer Inspection. Reports of the heads of the voivodship office of internal affairs or the voivodship prosecutors on security and public order, economic crime and observance of the law made up 14.8 percent.

Last year the voivodship councils implemented recommendations deriving from the evaluation of the implementation of the law on the system of people's councils and local self-government done by the Council of State and the Sejm in 1986. Many of the councils adopted resolutions decentralizing tasks to the people's councils at the basic level and some income sources, chiefly those from the Peasant Mutual Aid, Spolem, and horticultural and beekeeping cooperatives. The councils also took advantage of the new legal authority to empower their own presidiums to transfer budgeted funds between budget items and to agree to the localization of enterprises and investments.

All of the topics taken up at the sessions of the voivodship people's councils were preceded by a series of studies by the appropriate commissions and presidiums of the voivodship people's councils.

13021

ROMANIA

Attacks, 'Distortions' of Anticommunists

27000100 Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romania
No 11, 10 Jun 88 pp 44-52

[Articles by Univ Prof Dr Petru Panzaru, Univ Prof Dr G.A. Cazan, Dr Elena Zamfirescu, Univ Lecturer Dan Mircea Popescu, Univ Reader Dr Victor Duculescu, and Univ Lecturer Dr Ion Zara. First four paragraphs are ERA SOCIALISTA introduction]

[Text] The discrepancy, constantly aggravated throughout the evolution of capitalism, between the principles

proclaimed by the bourgeois revolution and the direct effects of the social and production relations typical of that kind of social organization is the main reason for the ideological diversions with which the defenders of capitalism try to distract the masses' attention from the true nature of the system based on exploitation and oppression. In their attempt to prevent or check the growing development of anticapitalist thought and practices, the forces interested in perpetuating the said social system and their spokesmen are resorting to an equal extent to ideological figments that embellish the image of capitalist and pseudoscientific fancies chiefly intended to distort the nature and significance of the socialist revolution and the efforts to construct the only viable alternative to the crisis of the capitalist system, namely socialist and eventually communist society.

Not only the vital and active presence in today's world of the socialist countries, whose evolution unquestionably demonstrates the viability of the revolutionary theory and the social-political practice it inspires, but also the aggravation and multiplication of the newer and older contradictions of the system based on private ownership and especially the desire of the backward forces to "block" historical progress have brought about an unprecedented intensification of anticommunist propaganda throughout the postwar period.

In the last few decades, as socialism asserted itself more and more in the world arena, the apologists of capitalist have resorted successively either to propaganda openly hostile to the new order or to a more "subtle" form, or to both at once. But the changes in tone should not deceive us, because the constant accumulation of facts proving the superiority of socialism have not deterred the promoters of anticommunism in the least. On the contrary, the heightened ideological and political offensive waged in the present stage under the banner of anti-Marxism and the accentuated campaign to malign socialism prove that anticommunism is not and cannot be abandoned by the reactionary imperialist circles, because it is one of the essential weapons in the arsenal of capitalism. Therefore, as Nicolae Ceausescu very clearly said in his speech on 19 April 1988, "We must expose reactionary imperialist propaganda more actively, as well as the whole effort to obscure or slander the socialist countries' achievements, which brings about some shortcomings or negative aspects but completely ignores those countries' great accomplishments."

In view of those considerations, in this issue ERA SOCIALISTA is publishing a series of articles exposing the profoundly reactionary nature and goals of anticommunism and refuting some of its ideas and practices, while also demonstrating the superiority of socialism, which secures the peoples' rapid all-around progress, their free and independent development, and construction of better and more just world."

**Dr Petru Panzaru: "The Strategy Opposed to
Historical Progress"**

The picture of the world of today has a scope and vitality unprecedented in any previous period in man's history, and any rational analyst will recognize the objective facts of this picture.

The 20th century has borne out the major Marxist conclusion, based upon a meticulous scientific analysis of the antagonistic contradictions of the bourgeois system, that the revolutionary replacement of capitalist society by a better and historically quite legitimate one, namely socialist society, is inevitable. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his Report to the Fifth National Party Conference, in the last few decades the socialist system, which has abolished exploitation and inequality forever, was formed and developed, all attempts of the imperialist reaction to stop or at least retard the socialist countries' development failed, and socialist construction in 14 states with a population over 1.5 billion and the great progress made by the socialist countries, which were generally underdeveloped in the past, have emphatically demonstrated the invincible power of socialism.

Meanwhile it is becoming increasingly clear that the apologists of capitalism and the old and new open enemies of socialism have no sense of history (nor can any be expected of them). This is obvious because they admit that mankind has progressed over the previous historical periods but they will by no means accept the idea or the fact that the capitalist production method is and has been inevitably superseded by a better production method and a new kind of society reflecting objective laws and requirements and the very logic of history, which coincides with or follows from the logic of social progress.

In conflict with the logic of history, imperialism's ideologists pretend that the capitalist system (which they avoid calling by name, preferring such terms as "the post-industrial society," "the information society," etc., that hide its class character) is the end point (and the ideal one!) of social evolution, that this system, undermined by an irreversible general and systemic crisis, saturated with antagonisms, and generating malformations and serious threats to the human condition, is eternal, and that history and mankind have exhausted their imagination and cannot create another kind of society radically different from and structurally superior to the bourgeois one. In fact, the current antisocialist and anticommunist ideological campaign is waged against history itself and its laws and logic. The appearance, consolidation, and development of socialism in the world, not only as an ideology but especially as a socioeconomic, political, and cultural-axiological reality, as well as the considerable restriction of the extent of the capitalist system are no "accidents" of history nor the results of any "voluntary act" or "military force" but the natural, necessary outcomes of objective social laws, which bring about revolution qualitative leaps through

the purposeful action of people, the social classes, and the progressive political forces and personalities. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, all social development confirms, in agreement with the revolutionary conception of the world and life, the fact that regardless of the obstacles and difficulties that may arise, mankind regularly advances with firm steps toward the classless society, a society of international justice and equality.

But the worldwide capitalist system still exists, with its policy of domination and oppression and its ideological and propaganda organization concentrating and using many resources in support of a new antisocialist and anticommunism "crusade" and conducting an intensive campaign for disinformation of public opinion and defamation of the socialist countries and of socialist ideas and ideals in general. But the unforgettable lessons of history tell us that attacks upon socialism and communism have always been a diversion and an integral part of the exploiting classes' policy of abolishing the democratic freedoms, the peoples' rights, and national sovereignty and independence, while today it is a part of the policy of aggravating the armaments race, especially nuclear, and of the policy of aggression and war. That is why "We must reject and expose the activity of these reactionary, neofascist and revanchist circles with all determination," as Nicolae Ceausescu says.

The RCP regards production-ideological and educational work and propaganda as means to the political and moral indoctrination of its personnel, all communists and the masses and to the advancement of national dignity and pride and of the spirit of collaboration and militant solidarity with all the forces of socialism, democracy, progress and peace. Nothing can be more damaging to propaganda work, both at home and abroad, than a defensive approach and a tendency to avoid commitment to open warfare, based of course upon evidence and facts and not upon labels or "verbal violence," with the often gross distortions to which anticommunist propagandists resort.

Counteracting the influence of bourgeois propaganda and forcefully combatting the effects of disinformation, slanders, and lies disseminated day and night by the western mass communication media against socialism and Romania are a far-reaching and permanent task and no temporary campaign. Forceful promotion and defense of the fundamental philosophical, political, economic, and ethical values of socialism and the national interests and refutation of the attacks upon the socialist system in general and Romania in particular and of the distortions of the policy of the Communist Party and the socialist state are of course main and permanent objectives of our propaganda. These objectives include fundamental questions of social development and organization, rights and freedoms of the masses, the human condition, philosophic thought, and the intellectual output, concerning which there is an intense ideological confrontation between the progressive revolutionary forces and the exploiting classes and reactionary circles.

In general the typical procedure of anticommunist propaganda is to make an apology for capitalist society, accompanied by a veritable commercial for the way of life of the "consumer society," deliberately disguising and concealing that society's economic, political, and moral weaknesses while painting life in the socialist countries in dark colors, ignoring their historic progress and achievements, and exploiting and exaggerating the difficulties inherent in such radical social and human reconstructions as socialist construction and formation of the new man. Those are the "two faces of Janus" characteristic of imperialist propaganda, both trying to hide, under the mask of "objectivity of information," "freedom of expression," etc., the class, partisan character of this propaganda and its function as an ideological instrument of the political power of the bourgeoisie and the imperialist circles.

The alleged "discrepancy" between our party's and state's domestic and foreign policies is a veritable slogan of current reactionary propaganda. To be sure we cannot reproach the promoters of anticommunism for their modest knowledge of dialectical materialism, nor are we surprised at their interpretations distorted to the point of deforming a political doctrine and practice that have been and remain revolutionary, anticapitalist, and anti-imperialist by definition. But however blinded they are by anticommunism, the bourgeoisie's ideologists should be more heedful of the many and varied objective facts that belie their erroneous assertion about the "discrepancy" between Romania's domestic and foreign policies, an assertion like an old placard left beside an abandoned road.

Our party's and state's domestic and foreign policies are both characterized by vitality, creativeness, receptiveness to the new developments and trends that have appeared in society, continuity, consistency, and new thought, and they form an inseparable dialectical unit because they reflect and promote one and the same social ideal, namely the progress and prosperity of the nation on terms of international collaboration and peace and mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, which are indispensable both to full use of the nation's creative potential and to forming the objective base for expanding the international exchange of material and cultural values.

The receptiveness, broad outlook, innovating spirit and initiative that characterize the RCP's foreign policy, which is consistently inspired by the creatively applied principles of scientific socialism, also characterize its domestic policy, which has made it possible to convert Romania in an extremely brief historical period from an agrarian "periphery" to a fully developing industrial-agrarian state, with high rates of economic growth, modernization, and urbanization, with full use of the labor force, and with regular improvement of all citizens' material and cultural living standard.

In forms suited to domestic socioeconomic and political relations, the principles of democratism and democratization so consistently promoted by our party and state and by Nicolae Ceausescu in international affairs in the years since the Ninth Party Congress are naturally stimulating factors for all socialist construction, basic instruments for improving society, and essentials for enhancing the performance of our whole social system, for applying the people's abilities and initiatives, and for strengthening national unity and solidarity.

In stressing once again the need of active commitment to the effort toward unflinching defense, on the ideological level especially, of the gains of the new order, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech on 19 April 1988 that "The ideological effort must be intensified not only nationally but also internationally in order to emphatically assert the revolutionary views of the world and the principles of scientific socialism, which are and will be constantly enriched not only by social experience and experience in socialist construction but also by new conclusions from knowledge and development of society in general."

The RCP is not examining the new order from positions of any triumphalist interpretation of the processes going on in socialist society but considers it a living, developing body constantly presenting problems to be solved and encountering difficulties to be sure in the course of its progress, some of which are due to its qualitatively new nature in history and to the very evolution of a world in a state of complete revolutionary change. If negative phenomena arise in socialism, they are by no means due to the nature of this new order, as the anticommunist ideologists claim. Socialism does not purport to be a finished and perfect society but one in a processual and ever perfectible evolution on its own economic, political, and ideological foundations. But there is a qualitative difference of principle and of purpose between the often severe critical (self-critical) analyses made by politically responsible elements in order to eliminate defects, errors, and difficulties, which analyses are designed to be means of self-regulation and self-improvement of the socialist social system, and a number of criticisms made "from outside" (not only in the spatial sense of the term but also outside the intrinsic principles and criteria of socialist society), "criticisms" guided by criteria and principles borrowed from the old society and renovated only sporadically, primarily in formulations and not in essence. Betraying a historical "impatience" (actually a misunderstanding of the laws of history and of the objectively necessary rates and stages in construction of the new society), that kind of "criticisms" is intended to accredit the idea that the socialist revolutions have not led to the formation of socialist societies as the founders of the revolutionary theory foresaw them, but to the appearance of certain "postcapitalist" societies! It is a clumsy attempt, quite devoid of subtlety, not only to "nullify" or "expel" Marxism's key concept of a socioeconomic structure (order) and accordingly the laws of necessary transition from a lower to a

higher order, but also to deny or at least detract from the importance of the structural changes made in the socialist countries, naturally in ways and forms, at rates and with resources characteristic of each of them.

As a new and innovative social system, socialism is irreversible because history itself is irreversible and forms its future according to the laws and logic of social progress. To contest the legitimacy of socialism, which has long since ceased to be merely an idea, an aspiration or a liberal plan, is to contest a varied and viable socioeconomic, political, and cultural reality in constant development of its original creative potentials. However inconvenient and erroneous this reality appears to the forces and representatives of the old and historically outmoded society, it does not and will not cease to be the most important landmark of current and future history, and accordingly the antisocialist and anticommunism stands are actually antiscientific and antihistorical ones.

Anyone who judges, without preconceived ideas or abstract, a priori theoretical patterns, the history of the formation and development of the new, socialist social system in the midst of the old one and evaluates objectively the socioeconomic, political, and ideological changes made in our century in the existence of the nations and mankind must recognize (as in fact people who do not share Marxist views also do) that the appearance and development of socialism on a world scale have placed history "on new terms," have radically changed the balance of power between the old world and the new, and have opened up and are perseveringly consolidating a veritable highway of historic contemporary progress.

Univ Prof Dr G.A. Cazan: "Distortion of the Revolutionary Theory"

Anticommunism is the premise and the corollary of all rightist movements and of political conservatism of all descriptions, as well as a link between the reactionism of yesterday and that of today, stated in the most varied slogans, professed and disseminated the more noisily, virulently, and ostentatiously the falser they are in their nature and approaches. Its "lists" of services are old but constantly revived just as its main arguments, profession of faith, political intentions and of course its political practices are old and constantly revived, some of them having culminated in devastating genocide and apocalyptic devastation.

The scientific study of anticommunism is no simple matter and cannot be reduced to a few general ideas, which, however true they may be in essence, do not reflect the whole phenomenon, its structure, the ways it is formed and spreads, or its transformation into political practices, some of which are even downright brutally dehumanizing and directly destructive on various levels of experience, from the cultural level to human life as such.

In order to determine the particular characteristics, namely the ideological arsenal and the political purposes and practices, anticommunism must also be studied from the standpoint of its theoretical history, which in turn must be clearly related to the social and political practices of the anticommunism theorists and to those of the propaganda parties and groups that have adopted their ideas in one way or another and disseminated them to public opinion.

Historical examples need to be cited not only because they can speak for themselves about the structure of anticommunism but also because they can bring out correctly and scientifically the factors that interconnect the various periods in the history of anticommunism. Of course, no exhaustive analysis is possible within the space of this article, but, leaving aside the very old "anticommunism" and that which was advanced in reaction to the utopian-socialist theories in the modern period and considering only that which appeared in the second half of the 19th century and has been aggravated in this century, it is important to mention a fact that seems particularly significant to us. That is the manifestation of anticommunism in the second half of the 19th century as virulent anti-Marxism and the will to destroy the revolutionary theory of the world and life primarily, and accordingly historical and dialectical materialism. Passing over a number of less well-known thinkers, I would mention Nietzsche here especially, because the whole anticommunist movement made him a true "classic" later on. Nietzsche's anticommunism, and not his alone, was to be adopted in Alfred Rosenberg's "Myth of the 20th Century" and more fully in the general ideology of fascism.

Anticommunism clearly led to fascism and was its prerequisite and culmination, being a justification of it. In a sense it can be maintained that the anticommunism of the last century was even a protofascism, as I think Zeev Sternhell was right in doing in his work "Ni droite, ni gauche. L'Ideologie fasciste en France" (Seuil, Paris, 1983). The history of anticommunism in the last 150 years, however divided and varied it was, shows that regardless of its manifestations, anticommunism is derived, proposed, maintained, and focused on a few ideas that are the same from their first manifestations to the manifestations of today.

Among them is subjectivist criticism of historical and dialectical materialism, as a means of "grounding" the theoretical act. Regardless of the varieties of anticommunism, its various representatives—beginning with, let us say, Nietzsche, through Sorel, De Man, A. Rosenberg, Nae Ionescu, and Nichifor Crainic to R. Aron, R. Tucker, B.H. Levy, J.M. Domenach, J.M. Benoist, and J.F. Revel, or even ordinary journalists—have been declaring open war on historical materialism, most of them considering it obsolete or to use a term that has become fashionable, "dead." We do not maintain—

indeed, this would be a mistake—that any antimaterialism or any criticism of historical materialism is identified with anticommunism, but neither can it be denied that all anticommunism is characterized by antimaterialism in general and by rejection of historical materialism in particular.

Anticommunism has opposed and still opposes the materialist explanation of the universe and the historical-materialist explanation of society, disregarding the conclusions demanded by scientific discoveries and by the evolution of society (voluntarism, irrationalism, organicism, ethicism, moral relativism, and psychological determinism, each one accompanied as the case may be and as needed, by the cults of "life," "living," "the hero," and race and, more than once, by the apology of "mystery," by criticism of democracy, by exaltation of authoritarian power or by consideration of it as an "inevitable fact" of history and man's ontology, etc.).

Anticommunism's subjectivist rejection of Marxist materialism is generally like a caricature, consisting not of objective analysis of materialist philosophy but of construction of a caricatured materialism, which of course anticommunism then knocks down very easily. As a rule anticommunism reduces materialism to elementary propositions, to a metaphysical materialism. Ignoring the historicity of materialism, it identifies a particular form of it, long outmoded, with the eternal essence of materialism, in order to "demonstrate" then, solely on the basis of the limitations of mechanistic materialism, that the eternal essence itself of materialism is "obsolete." It proceeds from there, with ad hoc logic, to rejection of Marxist materialism. In the most widespread forms of anticommunism, historical materialism is reduced to economic determinism, which is unquestionably very easy to "knock down," but what is knocked down is the historical materialism pictured by its critics and by no means historical materialism as such.

The fact that all forms of anticommunism profess rejection or falsification of Marxist materialism calls attention to another point that we think is vitally important, namely that the anticommunism theorists have correctly noted that there is a cause-and-effect relationship between the theoretical foundation of Marxism, namely historical and dialectical materialism, and its propaganda doctrine (scientific socialism). Marxism's propaganda ideas are indeed inseparable from their philosophical foundations, and they are developed not in parallel but together. But in the anticommunism view, "elimination" of the theoretical foundation leads to "demonstration" of the invalidity and ineffectiveness of Marxist propaganda ideas. An example of such "logic" may be instructive, since it occurs in nearly any form of anticommunism. We are discussing it because it is of considerable proportions and practical-political consequences. It is the rejection of Marxist materialism on the totally false pretext that it contains no theory of man or of human subjectivity and accordingly conflicts with any ethicist-voluntarist view like that maintained by Henri

de Man, who rapidly proceeded from rejection of historical materialism to rejection of the historical role of the proletariat, and from there to rejection of the socialist revolution. An idealist view of moral awareness as a subconscious impulse or instinct, inevitably leading it to the apology for fascism and adoption of clearly fascist positions, was in conflict with historical materialism.

Despite its eclecticism and its variations from time to time, the "philosophy" of anticommunism is essentially the same, namely an obstinate profession of antimaterialism. There are many proofs of this. Let us mention only the "new right," in whose thought antimaterialism is combined with elitism and criticism of Marx with antisocialism. We can refer, for example, to J.M. Domenach, who declares Marxism a "phantasm" and compares it with mentalism.

The anticommunism of today is "theorizing" around its old familiar principles and trying by numerous artifices to "apply" them to the new realities. By their very logic the old principles proved to be profoundly antihumanist and so they are today. And their application to the new realities also shows a prevailing trend toward falsification and distortion of the natures of both capitalist and socialist society. As instruments of social analysis, the anticommunism philosophies are in error, and when converted to political practices they endanger man's very existence, as past experience has already proved. Therefore opposition to those ideas is a constant priority task of revolutionary thought, especially today because, as Nicolae Ceausescu says, "We must not overlook the fact that recently we have been seeing an international renewal of the blackest forces of reaction and fascism which, in various forms, are trying to revive backward, racist ideas and practices both in various countries' social activities and in ideology and politics."

Dr Elena Zamfirescu: "The 'Art' of Disinformation"

For more than a century anticommunism has been one of the chief weapons in the arsenal of procapitalist ideology. Originally aimed at the revolutionary thought and political organizations of the working class, bent on carrying out the socialist ideal, anticommunism acquired new dimensions with the appearance of the socialist countries concentrating all its efforts on disparaging socialism as a social ideal and a historical reality.

A review of the evolution of anticommunism shows that in certain periods dissemination of its theories was greatly intensified in close connection with the needs of the conservative forces' political practice. Those periods coincide without exception with the periods when procapitalist thinking was no longer able to maintain the "historical legitimacy" of the system based on domination and exploitation in the face of its actual situation and was forced to resort to indirect apologies or to maintain the "desirability" of the capitalist system by harping on ideas of the "perils" of shifting to the socialist kind of social organization. In other words the indirect

apology, most often in the guise of anticommunism, is expected to compensate for and cover up the impaired credibility of the capitalist system's direct apology by resorting to the well-known formula of maligning and distorting socialist ideas and facts in order to distract the masses' attention from the acute tensions and difficulties caused by capitalist's characteristics economic, social, and political contradictions. However, as the American political scientists Irving Hower clearly points out in noting the deficiencies of the effort to build the procapitalist consensus on the scaffold of defamation of socialism, "Great declarations of opposition to communism do not answer the difficult questions facing us in the West" ("Intellectuals, Dissent, and Bureaucrats. Brief Notes on Large Matters," *DISSENT*, Summer 1984, p 307).

The intrinsic connection between the imposition of anti-communism as the dominant note in procapitalist thought and the periods of compensation in order to perpetuate the relations that the latter was trying to legitimize has been made conspicuous by the events of the last 10-15 years. When the mechanisms for the relative stability of capitalism that were used in the first postwar decades could no longer cope with the many difficulties caused or revealed by the new stage of the crisis of capitalism, and the both internal and international contradictions brought on by perpetuating the latter became more and more explosive, it became increasingly clear that capitalism could provide no viable solutions to the great problems facing humanity on the threshold of the 21st century. In an attempt to forestall or counteract the option of the working masses in their own countries and that of the peoples of the "third world" for a new form of social organization, the rightist circles in the West recirculated the favorite themes of anticommunism to an unprecedented extent and intensity. Phraseology like "the Red peril," "the incompatibility" of socialism and democracy and socialism's "lack of viability," "crisis" and "defeat" pervades the messages transmitted daily by the mass communications media and make their way into works with academic pretensions, constantly bombarding the awareness.

So far from bearing out the idea of capitalism's "regenerative powers," this ideological offensive actually betrays the diminished circulating power of the values of capitalism and the fact that it is on a historic defensive. Many clear voices in the West, upon which the feverish anticommunism propaganda has not had the effect expected by its initiators, point out that the appeal to ideology as a means of restoring adherence to capitalism is closely related to the fact that the time has passed when capitalism dominated the world and could resort to violence to impose its commands. The French theorist Maurice Goldring noted that correlation in the early 1980's in his significant study entitled "The Intellectual Terrorism of the Right." He said, "If the conflict of ideas is so fierce it is because, in addition to its traditional role, it is becoming in a way a substitute for other forms of

class struggle to which, as in the case of armed violence, capitalism can resort less and less. This explains its intensity. Ideological propaganda has become as important as military bases ("Le nouvel ordre interieur," Paris, Alain Moreau, 1980, pp 144-145).

Frank recognition of the "usefulness" of anticommunism propaganda even by the promoters of conservative thought in general and of anticommunism thought in particular is also symptomatic of the fact that the procapitalist ideological offensive is a corollary of the historical decline of the respective system. For example, one of the founding members of the "Committee for a Free World" founded in London in 1981 made a point of saying when it was founded that "Our society here in the West is not perfect but I believe it is better than the one in the communist East. All must be made aware of this essential fact, and the Committee for a Free World intends to work to that end." More recently, at a conference on "The Role of Disinformation in the Modern World," organized in December 1984 in Paris by the European Security Institute and the Resistance International, organizations specializing in anticommunism propaganda, two of the participants in that "scientific" meeting summed up its intentions thus: "It is time to place the problem in its metaphysical context: The competition between East and West is a struggle to take possession of minds, and that is the key to taking possession of the world. It necessitates control of information" (cf. *LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE*, May 1987, p 20). It is interesting to note that in discussing "information control" in these terms and setting it as their immediate task, the participants in the conference blandly declared in the same breath that their reasons are "defense of truth and freedom...."

It should be noted that the real motives of the self-styled "champions of the truth" are brought out not only by representatives of Marxist thought and of the communist parties but also by a number of western theorists and journalists taking democratic, progressive positions who refuse to align themselves with the anticommunism hysteria precisely in the name of the truth. There is a recent example of this in the May 1987 number of the distinguished French publication *LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE*, which included a considerable series of articles in its pages grouped under the general heading "The Art of Disinformation." The authors who collaborated on it indicate, from various viewpoints, the ways in which the rightist and extreme rightist circles in the western world are trying, on the pretext of "Marxist-Leninist disinformation," to restore currency to the "police explanation of history" and to convey the impression that there is a "communist conspiracy" allegedly threatening "the freedom of the West."

In presenting this aspect, Christian de Brie noted in his article "The Crusade for Thought Control" that "The crusade against disinformation started in the United States in the early 1980's and reached Western Europe.... Its sole and common sermon is that a terrible threat

hangs over the West." The members of the "holy alliance" (consisting of "hysterical, doomsday evangelists, bellicose preachers of national security, retired generals, peddlers of cold war..., pilgrims inspired by revelations, cynical multi-millionaires, and defenders of the faith," as the said author graphically points out) have two main traits in common, namely a fanatical anticommunism compounded by rabid ultraconservative convictions and a solid professional experience in disinformation."

Upon more careful analysis, the activities of these orchestrators of anticommunist propaganda under the cloak of "defense of truth" betray their real mission which, according to Christian de Brie, is "to mobilize the partisans of thought control and repression of the crime of progressive opinion." He goes on to say that the exaggerated theme of the "communist peril" "serves as a screen for the offensive of the most reactionary forces, who are leading the battle in our (i.e. western—our note) countries to maintain the establishments, stubbornly resisting the developments that threaten their interests and privileges, and pretending to be saving democracy and freedoms while they institute oppressive regimes, social control, and thought control."

Many other facts indicate that anticommunism propaganda is not an ideological operation in itself. In other words it is the logistic support of direct practical efforts to check the struggle for democracy and socialism and of the attempt by any means to stop the clock of history on the hour of capitalism.

In stating his opinion on the nature and aims of the Trilateral Commission, the French admiral Antoine Sanguinetti commented a few years ago that "The basic problem of this circle of international executives is to adjust our liberal and capitalist system to all situations under all circumstances in order to save it.... The aim of the "Trilateral" is clear from its various documents, namely how to make any shift of the western countries to socialist impossible." Directly confirming that opinion and making it its task "to prevent deviation to socialism in any part of the world," a 1984 report of the Trilateral Commission does not hesitate to advertise its anticommunism motives. Its authors declared, "We do not shrink from openly rejecting communism and trying to imagine a global system wherein the communist philosophy fades away and no longer acquires new converts." So far from confining itself to violent language against socialism in general, this report (compiled by David Owen, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Saburo Okita, representing the three components of the "western triangle," namely Western Europe, the United States, and Japan) suggests a number of practical actions to weaken the socialist countries. Furthermore, some of its expressions conveyed the impression that ultimately not only "protection of the integrity" of the capitalist world is envisaged but also an eventual "resorption" of already existing socialism.

In addition to all this the considerable support from some developed capitalist countries that is enjoyed by the rightist regimes in some "third world" countries, as well as the fact that certain international financial institutions, whose policies are dictated by the interests of big capital, make "economic aid" conditional upon "avoiding" or "abandoning" the option for socialism make it even clearer that the anticommunism offensive is not inspired in the least by "pure reasons" of "defense of truth and freedom" but by pragmatically and brutally pursued reasons of perpetuating by any means the relations of exploitation and domination that conflict by their very nature with the current requirements of historical progress.

Univ Lecturer Dan Mircea Popescu: "A Distorted View of Human Rights"

Rejection and defamation of socialism (both as an ideology and as a social practice), the attempt to stop or at least to retard the worldwide revolutionary process, and opposition to the growing influence of revolutionary ideology are only a few of the reasons for the ideological offensive of the reactionary circles, in addition, of course, to defense of their own interests and their own "legitimacy" in the eyes of social classes and strata increasingly aware of the structural crisis of capitalist society and of its effects as well. That offensive is specifically reflected in anticommunism which, as Nicolae Ceausescu says, "takes the form of a tool in the hands of the reaction and of imperialism by serving their class policy of domination and oppression of other peoples."

So far from being just an ideological stand, anticommunism is also a political action, with the problems of human rights as one of its favorite grounds. Moreover, the question of human rights and freedoms has a dialectic of its own in the current political-ideological confrontations. In addition to the unanimous indication of the urgent importance of this question, the continuity in time of this confrontation should also be noted, since it has always brought the revolutionary and progressive forces into conflict with the exploiting classes and reactionary circles throughout history.

The current controversies concerning human rights are chiefly about the concept itself, the nature of those rights, the courses of action to implement them, and the effectiveness, or rather the ineffectiveness, of the traditional ways of protecting them.

As for the concept, there is no question that now more than ever the realities of the present period necessitate a review of the basic data concerning human rights in the light of the new requirements that are making themselves felt in each individual country's political, economic, social, and cultural affairs but also on the level of the international community as a whole, which requirements are to a great extent determined by the great revolutionary, social and national changes in the world and the scientific-technical revolution, but also by the

strategies for transition to the next century. In his Report on the Fifth National Party Conference Nicolae Ceausescu said, "How will the world look at the start of the third millennium, in the 21st century? The very future of mankind and the future of every nation depend upon the answers that will be given and the solutions that will be found to the serious and far-reaching problems of the world of today!"

The facts of the nuclear age, the unprecedented aggravation of the armaments race, and the growing threat of a worldwide catastrophe unquestionably pose the problem of the human condition and of humanism in general in qualitatively new terms, because they bring out both some new factors and some absolute priorities in defining and proportioning the concept of human rights. Accordingly, as the party secretary general says, "Whatever kind of rights is discussed, nothing is more precious than freedom, peace, and life." Those are eternal values of humanity which all peoples of the world, politicians, governments, world public opinion, and the advanced democratic and progressive forces everywhere must unite to protect.

In addition, any realistic, scientific approach to the problems of human rights also objectively requires consideration of many political, economic, social, and cultural aspects and study of the historical features and developmental stage of society, because those rights can be understood in their evolution and scope solely on the basis of the given ownership and production relations and of a particular economic, social, political, and cultural structure.

Despite some statements about "the limited applicability of the western conception of human rights and the necessity of reinterpreting that conception (Adamantia Pollis, "Human Rights: A Western Construct With Limited Applicability," in "Human Rights. Cultural and Ideological Perspectives," Praeger Publishers, New York, London, Sidney, Toronto, 1979, p 1), western political thinkers have done far too little to adapt the concept itself to the new facts, to correlate it with the present characteristics of international affairs, or to enhance its progressive content (We are referring to the historical period of the Declaration of Rights and especially the 1948 Declaration in connection with the last point.) Furthermore, the significance of the concept of human rights is still confined in the western view to nonessential, collateral points, and is still used in a tendentious way by the reactionary imperialist circles to disparage the situations in the socialist countries, to promote a policy of flagrant interference in another states' internal affairs, and to undermine detente and peace. Another deliberately distorted view ultimately leads to absurd claims and even to intolerable political actions, often in the form of attempts to impose on other countries and peoples the ideas, attitudes, standards, methods and habits of the way of life that predominates in capitalist society in general or in certain countries belonging to that system. In this way the elementary fact

is ignored that the problems of human rights in their whole extent and diversity can be really solved within each country through the efforts of its people. These stands are not taken by chance. On the contrary they are promoted to distract the masses' attention from the socioeconomic conditions that vitally affect the human condition under capitalism, to hide and obscure the gap between the proclaimed values and tangible realities of the bourgeois system, to create confusion among the various social categories and, last but not least, to disorient those who are seeking a new path in social development.

True democracy, true humanism, and the true and real human rights and freedoms are incompatible with perpetuated exploitation of man by man, with maintenance of the serious economic, social, and political inequalities of capitalism, and with national, social, and racial discrimination. There can be no real democracy, freedoms, or basic human rights in a society that does not give its millions the elementary opportunity to earn their living by working and to share directly in management of the various activities and of society in general and in making the decisions that concern their own existence and future.

Socialist Romania's profoundly humanistic conception of human rights is even more significant in this light, since it is based, as Nicolae Ceausescu says, "on the necessity of full equality among people and of equitable economic relations enabling every citizen to lead as good and worthy a life as he can, on free access to education, culture, and science, and the opportunity to participate in social management directly and regardless of nationality."

Regarding the content of human rights, the complexity as well as the difficulty of the problem are due in the first place to their classification in at least two distinct categories of rights, partly civil and political rights and partly economic, social and cultural rights. We qualified them by "at least two" because the theory of "generations" of human rights (a doctrinal acquisition of the 1980's) adds to the two traditional "generations" of basic rights a third one, namely "the generation of rights of solidarity," or the right to peace, development, a healthy environment, the common heritage of mankind, etc. In the second place, the difficulty is due to the different interpretations and emphases placed upon the different categories of rights despite the widely accepted view that they are of equal importance and interdependent. And in the third place the difficulty is also due to the preoccupation of the prevailing western view of human rights with the "universal" nature of certain aspects of those rights without allowing for the different conditions of socioeconomic and political development from one country to another.

As we know, the traditional individual civil and political rights are a creation of bourgeois democracy and also the highest point reached by the latter in the field of human

rights. The chief function of those rights has been and is to maintain that kind of democracy (wherein economic inequality severely limits their actual exercise by most of the citizens formally benefiting by them) and accordingly its basic values, which gravitate around the values characteristic of competitive individualism, the main principle of which was defined by Hobbes as "homo homini lupus." This also explains why western propaganda dwells solely upon those rights (civil and political) while ignoring or opposing the others, namely the economic, social and cultural ones. On the other hand this one-sided emphasis is undoubtedly also intended to counteract the influence of the ideas and practices that are new in the world, which exceed the limits of the bourgeois political system and, even more, are the very refutation of it and especially of some of its values. For example, the right to private ownership is the basic value of the bourgeois system of human rights but for socialist theory and practice it is the most profound denial of the basic rights and accordingly of the values of the new social order.

Exaggerating the importance of the civil and political rights is compounded by minimizing or even rejecting the rights in the second "generation," namely the economic, social, and cultural ones. Hence, also, the view that states should concern themselves solely with enforcing the civil and political rights as the only ones that impose "universal obligations." But it is well known that real and effective exercise of human rights requires both political (participation in management of affairs of state, decisionmaking, etc.) and material conditions that will guarantee the entire people's of the economic, social, and cultural rights and especially of the rights to work, a worthy life, medical and social aid, culture and a home of their own, since full exercise of the civil and political rights is impossible without provision for the economic, social, and cultural ones.

As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the 1987 National Party Conference, "The human right is the right to work, education and a home and the right to be a free and full master in his country."

By ignoring or questioning the existence of the rights in the "second generation," western propaganda is actually trying to evade the capitalist system's inability to secure the social equality of all its members and to distract the working masses' attention from the serious problems facing capitalist society, such as unemployment, inflation, exploitation, inequality, and discrimination of every kind, the precarious position of immigrants, etc. Beyond these attempts and these assertions of antisocialist and anticommunist propaganda one thing is clear, namely that a society that provides no opportunities to work for those to whom it is the only means of subsistence is in a crisis. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "There can be no human rights with 300 million unemployed in some developed capitalist countries. It is indeed difficult

to give advice and to speak or pose as a defender of human rights when you are not protecting the essential human right, the right to work and learn!"

The difficulties in the capitalist economy are reflected alike on the social, political, and ideological levels, so that today the crisis affects both the economic, social, and political relations and the intellectual, ideological, and moral aspects. It is significant in this respect that before 1980 terms like "power," "democracy," "life," and "work" were prevalent in political discussions, but their frequency has decreased considerably in the last decade, being replaced by other key-words like "crisis," "difficulties," "unemployment," "anxiety," and "survival."

By doing away with the chief inequality among people, namely economic inequality, socialism solves the basic problem of individual freedom and guarantees everyone's right to a life in keeping with his aptitudes and abilities. The new order emphasizes the very rights that capitalist society cannot guarantee, namely the right to work and its proceeds, the right to a free life, the right to share directly in management of all economic, political, and cultural activities, and the right of man as an individual but also as a community, and a people to self-determination in full freedom. Socialism is accordingly associated with a new and higher view of the basic human rights, the first requirements of which prove to be equality of the members of society in regard to the production means, or socialist ownership, and possession of the national wealth as well as the power in society by the people and in their interest. That is why promotion and observance of human rights are inseparable today from the struggle for a new social order, for satisfaction of the working masses' vital claims, the struggle to defend the basic values of today, and the struggle for socialism and communism.

Univ Reader Dr Victor Duculescu: "Ideology of the Policy of Force"

In an increasingly acute confrontation in the world arena between the forces of peace and progress, who are working for disarmament, new relations among countries and peoples, and a better and more just world, and the old imperialist policy of domination, dictation, force, and armament, anticommunism is looming more and more as one of the most dangerous ideological weapons used by the adherents of the old order and the reactionary circles resisting the radical changes in the world. In a period when the peoples' aspirations to peace and national sovereignty and independence are stronger than ever, anticommunism is proving to be an attempt by the forces of the old society to block the progress of the new and of mankind and to maintain the old world economic and political order and relations of inequality and domination.

As an ideology opposed to any radical social changes and inherently hostile to any international democratic reforms, anticommunism has been really "effervescing" in recent years, thanks to the accentuation of the imperialist circles' policy of force and interference in other people's internal affairs. It should be noted that while anticommunism in a general sense has already characterized the policy of the reactionary circles in the western countries for a long time and has often virulent forms to the point of military intervention, today under radically changed historical circumstances and a new international balance of power it is using a wide variety of methods and practices that can actually serve the same interests but are cleverly disguised in "new clothes." Its purposes remain the same: It is trying to divert the peoples from their natural course toward independence and freedom, to perpetuate the old relations of exploitation, and to contest the progress and triumph of the new political thinking in the international arena.

The devices of current anticommunism include a vast arsenal of ideas and political theories with which the outmoded society based on exploitation is trying to pose as a "model" to be emulated by all nations of the world and especially by the states that have gained their independence in the last few decades. The capitalist world is presented as an "efficient model" of development among other ways by presenting the values of capitalist society as "natural values," by judging freedom in terms of capitalist "freedom," and by generally and categorically contesting any advantages of the socialist way of life or political organization. But the "appeal" to the new sovereign states to take the capitalist course is not proving to be as "disinterested" as it is advertised, because the "aid" granted the developing countries is made conditional on political clauses and the formulas the international banks and monopolies offer them to "get out of the crisis" are primarily means of keeping the countries and peoples within the orbit of the world capitalist system who are trying to distance themselves from its logic.

In comparison with the principles and basic standards of conduct of the states of today's world, anticommunism immediately betrays its profoundly reactionary character. Forgetting the necessity of showing a friendly face to the new nations in order to gain their good will, it is directly advocating and trying to substantiate the inequality of the nations by unequivocally contesting the legitimate aspiration of all people's of the world to participate in international affairs on a fully equal footing. For example, a representative of the Heritage Foundation, which has gained a sad fame by its anticommunist ideas, did not shrink from accusing the nonwestern countries en bloc of "disrespect" for democracy, asserting that most of the UN member countries are unprepared to take up the problems confronting the organization (Burton Yale Pines, "The U.S. and the UN: Time for Reappraisal, in Future 21 [sic]. Directions for America in the 21st Century," Devin-Adair, Publishers, Connecticut, 1984, p 75). Some supporters of the old international order call the countries fighting for equality,

progress, and a new international order "a community without a principle (ethics)" or even "a community without law" (Claude Nigoul, Maurice Torrelli, "Les mystifications du nouvel order international," Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1984, pp 15, 51, 85). They question the peoples' very right to self-determination, describing it as a "pseudoprinciple of freedom" (Ibidem p 40). The aversion to the peoples fighting for independence is so strong that authors expressing openly hostile positions toward the developing countries do not shrink from maintaining that the leading forces in a number of states existing in the world today were helped to gain power "by terrorist tactics" (Wallace Irvin Jr., "America in the World. A Guide to U.S. Foreign Policy"). Jean Kirkpatrick, an American professor and former representative of the United States to the United Nations, well known for her elitist views hostile to the "third world," did not shrink from expressing the opinion that "Support for the so-called national liberation movements...is purely and simply a support for the attempt of armed totalitarian minorities to impose their will upon the majority by violence" ("This Very Human Institution," United States Information Agency, 1984, p 102).

Such statements ignoring the facts and presenting the national liberation movements in a false light betray not only the total misinterpretation of such radical and profoundly innovative reforms as the overthrow of the imperialist colonial system but also a bitter opposition to the forces promoting and working for those reforms. The options of countries freed from colonial slavery for the socialist course of development are viewed with the greatest hostility by the anticommunism ideologists, who cannot even imagine that evolution toward socialism is a natural course determined by the objective social laws and not something "imposed" from outside. On the other hand the plea for the young nations' acceptance of the great western powers' "protection" and of the capitalist way of life is regarded by the anticommunism theorists as having nothing to do with a foreign "transplant" but purely and simply as a "natural consequence" of the "attractiveness" of the values of the so-called "free world." But nothing is said about the fact that exercise of the "drawing power" of those values has often taken the form of brutal interference in those countries' internal affairs or even military invasions of some of them.

In bringing out the way some international banks can serve the interests of the monopolies and international financial capital, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out (on the basis of a number of practices that have become current recently) their tendency to play a direct part in blaming the difficulties of the world crisis on the poor and developing countries. As he said in his Speech at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in March 1988, "What is more, the international banks, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund impose conditions on the poor countries that lead to inflation and deterioration of the condition of the masses. They make granting new credits conditional upon elimination of the

public sectors and development of the private-capitalist economy, interfering directly in internal affairs and imposing their policy on dozens and dozens of states."

Disdain of the equality of nations, in the anticommunism view, goes with propagation of ideas in support of all peoples' acceptance, as inevitable, of domination of the great powers and of hierarchical forms of international organization obviously intended to satisfy the interests of those powers primarily. It is no accident that the adherents of anticommunism are also promoters of globalist views on organization of the international system, rejecting the peoples' sovereignty and their hopes of independence. Any ideas of sovereignty and independence are "heresies" to the anticommunism theorists, who are trying to legitimize theoretically the retention of the "third world" in the sphere of influence of the great powers. By their "logic," the developing countries do not need sovereignty, defense of their independence, or independent economic structures but "adoption" of the "beneficial" and "universally valid" model of capitalist society, the miraculous "panacea" for all the problems of those countries, who are expected to accept foreign, antinational policies as a veritable "compass" for their progress to prosperity.

The peoples' hopes for a new international economic and political order founded on equality and justice arouse harsh criticisms from the spokesmen of anticommunism. Their aversion to new relations among all states of the world is becoming a veritable "cry of alarm" from the circles who believe that the peoples' struggle is going to deprive them of the privileges accorded them for centuries by their dominance of the international system.

The problems of peace and war has been and are favorite subjects of anticommunism, since its ideologists "excel" in theorizing in favor of the policy of force and armament, maintenance of major military potentials in case of need, and even use of them (Why not?) in a possible conflict.... Even the horrors of nuclear weapons become "acceptable" when the interests of the circles promoting the armaments policy are at stake. The neutron bomb is presented as "the best imaginable instrument in the arsenal of peace," incredibly enough (Samuel Cohen, Marc Geneste, "Echec a la Guerre. La bombe a neutrons," Copernic Publishing House, Paris, 1980, p 113). War is presented as a "veritable reason of state" (Andre Glucksman, "Le Discours de la Guerre," Paris, 1879, p 149). In their turn, two American authors who accept the idea of nuclear warfare come to the incredible conclusion that such a conflagration would claim 20 million victims but it would be "preferable" because it would ultimately contribute to the appearance of "an international order compatible with the western values" (Colin Gray, Keith Payne, FOREIGN POLICY, Vol 39, Summer 1980, p 27). Such notions as well as many others maintained by the partisans of the policy of force demonstrate most clearly the danger of the warlike,

militarist and anticommunism ideology, the antihumanism of those ideas, and their basic opposition to the new trends and aspirations emerging in the world today.

The documents of the National Party Conference, upon making a penetrating analysis of international affairs, brought out with pertinent arguments the irreversibility of the peoples' struggle of national independence, peace, progress, and revolutionary democratic reforms. In pointing out the need of new political thinking about the development of international relations and of society in general, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the point that this thinking "requires proceeding from unfailing respect for the independence, sovereignty and integrity of all nations and complete abstention from interference in other states' internal affairs. We must work for a new perspective of every nation's free development." In the light of the radical changes that have been made and will continue to be made, anticommunism appears as a general denial of the peoples' rights and aspirations and as a tool of the old policy that must be combatted not only by communists but also by all progressive forces and all those who want the triumph of the new and the assertion of new and democratic international relations and a policy of worldwide peace and collaboration.

Univ Lecturer Dr Ion Zara: "Socialism. The Only Viable Alternative"

In the postwar decades, permanently characterized by the success of socialist revolution and construction in a number of countries, events occurred that demonstrate not only the drawing power of socialism both as an ideal and as a social-political practice and its growing influence, but also the virulence and permanence of the attempts to limit and diminish the latter by the forces hostile to it. Evaluation of the course taken by the socialist countries must not for a moment overlook that last point or the fact that the construction of the new order has not been faced with internal difficulties alone (largely due to the low developmental level from which most of the present socialist societies started) but also with many unfavorable external factors in the form of various ways of "obstructing" its progress on the part of the forces interested in perpetuating the capitalist system.

Moreover, the communist ideal and the social-political practice inspired by the theory of scientific socialism have had to cope from their start with the bitter battle against their advancement. There is a long and virtually interminable list of ideologies that have tried in the most varied ways to undermine, annihilate or defame the socialist and communist forces. We think the famous polemics that Marx, Engels, Lenin, and other successors of their waged against the forces hostile to socialist development are edifying in this respect. The way they conducted those polemics and the critical and militant spirit displayed by the founders of the revolutionary theory are still replete with lessons. The Marxist classics realized the socialism must not only be developed but

also defended, and they acted accordingly with determination. They demonstrated rationally, on the basis of in-depth scientific analyses, the inevitable and objective nature of the new order and staunchly defended the values of scientific socialism and of revolutionary humanism.

Of all the ways the ideological enemies of communism are trying in our time to undermine the drawing power of the socialist ideal, the main ones are those whereby they try to "discover" a "sure sign" of the "crisis of socialism" in the changes, innovations and processes of improvement going on today actually in all socialist countries, since they can no longer invoke the "stagnation" of socialism because the facts themselves contradict that stand. In hypocritically "welcoming" these processes that are going on (in particular forms), a number of western theorists who actually view those developments with alarm are suggesting "reforms" that conflict by their nature with the fundamental principles and values of socialism.

For instance, the principle of party leadership is becoming one of the favorite targets of the exponents of anticommunism. The West German political scientist H. Timmerman maintains that as long as "the reforms do not include the question of the party's monopoly on power on the agenda, the problem of human rights will continue to be the central point of the East-West confrontation." And according to some bourgeois political scientists and economists, the socialist world is experiencing an aggravation of "the chief internal contradiction of the system," consisting of the fact that the social-political organization "lags behind" the level of economic development. The particular methods used by a given country to improve the socialist political system are criticized as "very narrow," "limited by doctrine," and "technocratic" and it is asserted that they maintain the "dictatorship of the party" and do not permit "reformism in the western sense." This tacitly implies the idea of the "superiority" of a certain political model, that of party plurality, which is considered "the only one" that can bring about democracy and social-political democratization.

But the political system of a society or a country is not formed by transplanting. It is an outcome of a given people's historical development under the given conditions and of course an error would be committed if it were copied from "models" outside the respective country. Furthermore, it is necessary to consider the role and functions of the political system in society and the efficiency with which the society is managed. If the components of the political system no longer perform the progressive role of stimulating social development, they begin to conflict with the requirements of economic progress. In the Marxist view this contradiction can be resolved by "creating political systems wherein the new 'economic situation' can exist and be developed" (F. Engels, "Anti-Duehring), and the socialist countries are working today, in particular ways, for improvement of

the political system, participation of the workers and the people in socioeconomic and political management, and development of socialist democracy in accordance with the level and requirements of the contemporary development of the production forces. Therefore, the solution of the general problems of construction and development of the new order is not to go back to old formulas, to revive forms of political activity that have been outmoded by the march of history, or to transplant them from the West. Finding the best ways of social-political organization and management depends on the ability of each people's internal forces to think and create and on knowledge of the specific conditions and the objective laws as well as the achievements on the world level.

The solutions of major problems of the social development of countries that used to be on the periphery of wealthy capitalism in Europe, Asia, or America (such as industrialization, agricultural modernization, and provision for employment of the population fit to work, for rapid growth of the national income, and for a higher living standard, on the basis of state and cooperative socialist ownership and through the intermediary of the unified national plan for development) are already historic experiments verified on a world scale.

In the decades since World War II the socialist countries have achieved their highest average economic growth rate. For some of the countries, including Romania, their economic development in the years of socialism was a veritable leap in history, a transition from a predominantly agricultural economy to a comprehensive agroindustrial one.

In 1971-1977 the industrial outputs of the socialist countries belonging to CEMA showed average annual growth rates ranging between 5.1 and 8.4 percent, with an average of 7.3 percent for the 7 years. Romania's industrial output showed gains of more than 10 percent each year, between 11.4 percent in 1976 and 14.6 percent in 2 consecutive years (1973 and 1974) (cf. *Etude sur l'economie mondiale*, United Nations, New York, 1979). In the same period 23 developed countries with "market economies" logged an average increase of 3.3 percent, while the average growth of the developing countries' industrial outputs showed an average rate of 6.8 percent. According to another study ("Economic Survey of Europe in 1980," New York, 1981) compiled by the Secretariat of the UN Economic Commission, headquartered in Geneva, the growth rate of the material production of the socialist countries continued to be higher than those logged in the other two groups of countries throughout the 1960's and in the early 1970's. Moreover, many socialist countries also showed higher economic growth rates than those of the western countries in the 1980's. To be sure, the average development blurs the diversity, but it should be noted that the group of countries building socialism show the most homogeneous development. If we add to the foregoing factors the level of efficiency of productive activity, the technical quality of many products and goods, and some

technical-scientific achievements of worldwide importance, the theories that proclaimed or are still awaiting the "economic failure" of socialist society appear even more unfounded and sometimes border on the absurd. So far from being a "failure," the much blamed "centralized and collectivist economy" has fully confirmed its viability.

In drawing up a balance sheet of the progress of socialism, Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech on 19 April 1988 that "We value all that we have accomplished in the years of socialist construction, and I think we can say that on the whole and on the world level socialism has fully demonstrated its superiority and that it is the present and future of all mankind." Confronted with these tangible and indisputable facts, the anticommunism ideologists are trying to minimize their significance and to contest the viability of socialism by presenting the effort to develop and apply new mechanisms and methods of management (in diverse forms in keeping with the diverse specific-historical conditions under which the new order is being built and accordingly excluding mechanical copying of any given experience) as a so-called symptom of the "failure of the Marxist economy." But actually rejection of some obsolete methods of economic and social management, or adjustment of the management system, on various levels, to the new facts and requirements of socialist evolution, is a factor for progress and development of socialism on its own foundations and by no means a "denial" of its principles.

The mystifying mirror of anticommunism reflects the expansion of democracy and of the people's participation in political affairs and in social management and the improvement of the operating mechanisms of the economy according to the requirements of the level and rate of development of the production forces under the impact of the new scientific-technical revolution as so many factors "undermining" the foundations of socialism and allegedly reflecting the trend to "bring it closer" to capitalist, as if the people were "strangers" to socialism and democracy and as if socialism were not the undertaking of the people in each country or it "excluded" its own improvement!

The conclusion imposed by the current theories of the anticommunism offensive, which is repeating, in "new clothing," the so old ideas of the historical "uselessness" and practical "impossibility" of socialism, is that revolutionary thought must give a firmer reply to such attempts to contest the reforming potential of the new order and, on the basis of the actual accomplishments and its qualitative changes, display a more militant spirit in the ideological confrontation with anticommunism, which confrontation gravitates around the problem of the direction of historical evolution. Now more than ever the innovations that have appeared and continue to appear in this period of creative effervescence of socialist construction provide original and convincing arguments

for the superiority of socialism and for its determination as the only viable alternative for social development and for solution of the serious problems confronting mankind.

Without ignoring some difficulties and failures that have been confronting socialist construction in Romania and in other countries as well as stressing the point, in the truest revolutionary spirit, that socialism is not achieved under parade conditions, the party secretary general also keeps pointing out the fact that it is because socialism is being constructed with and for the people that the problems that objectively arise in the course of revolutionary social reform could be overcome and will continue to be overcome. As he says, "We have solved many problems and still have more to solve, but in comparison with some countries that were in Romania's position 40 years ago we have traveled a difficult and unprecedented road and we have passed through several historical stages. We have the democratic forms extensively in view of the fact that democracy, humanism, and socialism are inseparable. I emphasize that because it cannot be said that what has been accomplished in the socialist countries holds no promise. On the contrary, it is the pride of all workers and oppressed peoples and represents the promise of progress, prosperity, and independence of the peoples and the promise of a world without wars and a world of collaboration and friendship among all nations."

05186/06662

YUGOSLAVIA

Increase of Unofficial Publications Deplored
28000128 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
7 Jun 88 pp 24, 25

[Article by Vlastimir Mijovic: "A Flea Market Full of Political Piquancies: The Illegal Market for Unofficial Information Is Spreading Like an Epidemic"]

[Text] The newspaper of the Montenegrin youth organization, OMLADINSKI POKRET, has probably never been in such demand in Belgrade as in the last days of May. The printing of the fifth issue for this year of that newspaper, which is not very well known, simply vanished, and many curious people obtained their copy only with the help of friends in Titograd, or, on the other hand, they had to be satisfied with a photocopy of the article which aroused that demand. And the reason was the publication of a letter which the well-known historian Vladimir Dedijer addressed to Slobodan Milosevic, the top man in the Serbian LC.

POLET, published in Zagreb, also had an increased demand for its last issue. Many people who do not normally read it were encouraged to seek it out because of the announcement that it would contain segments of what was said to be the transcript of the meeting of the LCY Central Committee which again allegedly debated

preparation of a putsch in Slovenia. Yet curiosity was not to be fully satisfied—POLET quoted only some 30 lines of that phantom piece of paper which has so aroused the Slovenian public and then the Yugoslav public as well.

Finally, there has been no decline in the interest in TRIBUNA of Ljubljana, which—after the panel of judges rejected the motion of the prosecutor's office for a permanent ban on the 13th issue for this year of the organ of Ljubljana University students—was supposed to publish the letter of Vojislav Seselj to Stane Dolanc. But the reason for this article is not that we are dealing here with titillating material which regularly catches the attention of the public. There has always been an abundance of such stuff in the youth press.

What we have mentioned, however, has another distinguishing characteristic: the previous life of the letters or transcripts which are now being made public.

Dedijer's letter to Milosevic, in which he warns the chairman of the Serbian LC Central Committee of the moral corruptibility of certain people in his entourage (Zivorad Minovic and Dusan Mitevic in particular), was dated 6 April, and it appeared in OMLADINSKI POKRET (with Dedijer's consent) in early May. But many people saw that letter long before it was made public. There was a great number of photocopies circulating in Belgrade, and no one who showed an interest had any difficulty in obtaining one. And in Belgrade the number of such people runs to several digits. After all, it might be said that an illegal market of politically interesting and sensitive texts of various kinds and content has been functioning rather smoothly for a long time now in our capital. Thus at this moment one can obtain, under the counter of course, the open letter which Vojislav Seselj wrote to Branko Mikulic, dated 30 April of this year. It is said to be only a matter of the day on which it will be made public in one of the Slovenian youth newspapers.

But Seselj's letters are not the only things being offered on the illegal Belgrade market for political piquancies. Fans of this type of material have an opportunity at present to read a lengthy document (more than 30 closely typed pages) which another controversial and enigmatic man, a superb intelligence agent in his way, sent to Vladimir Dedijer.

In that text he offers Dedijer the use of certain new contributions to the study of the life and works of Comrade Tito, so that the demand for it on the political flea market is all the greater. In it the reader will encounter an abundance of surprising and simply amazing conclusions, opinions, and information about many of the most important Yugoslav leaders. The emphasis is, of course, on certain actions of Comrade Tito, on the behavior and political activity of Jovanka Budisavljevic Broz, on the role of Aleksandar Rankovic, Vladimir Bakaric, Stevo Krajacic and several other important people from Tito's political staff and private entourage.

Since the beginning of the year, which is when this material began to be distributed intensively, material which would be a sensation of the first order if it had the official stamp, the number of consumers has reached a level respectable even by newspaper standards.

The content of that letter, opened to the eyes of the public in a place and manner unknown, has become an open secret arousing the interest of new people every day. It would be no wonder, then, if this is not already being done, if that letter-document should also be put on sale at one of the Belgrade flea markets as was the case at one time with the so-called Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

At the height of the fierce debates over that (non)existent political-programmatic document of the SANU, which had been presented in the press in only very short excerpts or paraphrased passages, it could be purchased with no trouble at places where Belgraders go to buy smuggled consumer goods. Those who are actually experts in junk and nonsense from Hong Kong and elsewhere rather than in politics and its piquancies have been able to take advantage of the high demand for political jewels. But business is business, sometimes even smuggled political goods slip in between the needle and the locomotive. So unless there is some sudden raid on this market for highly sensitive pieces of printed matter, the circle of consumers could spread even more. Many Belgraders are burning with desire to set their eyes on at least some of the abundance of incriminating political documents they have been hearing so much about, but have not actually come upon. Up to now they have been getting this public-secret mail mainly through friends in the circle of public officials to whom similar documents are regularly sent or delivered in other ways. Nevertheless, even without the spread of this market, which at present is illegal, this is an occurrence, a phenomenon even, which begs for a valid explanation.

When and why did this begin? What role does it play in shaping public opinion?

This kind of mail probably circulated in Belgrade even before, but its institutionalization of the sort we now have occurred only at the time of the big political ruckus over the so-called Solidarity Fund.

We recall that the media were simply flooded with articles fiercely criticizing the attempt to establish the fund, while on the other hand the individuals criticized had no right to vote. Even when they were guaranteed it by the Law on the Press, Dusan Bogovac and those who think like him had no occasion to defend themselves in public and to explain a few things. The "advocates of the fund" were nevertheless resourceful—in a thrice Belgrade had a flood of photocopied or mimeographed statements and communications arriving every little while from the headquarters of the organization that had been politically branded. The writing was about all sorts of things, not all of it in response, and the circulation of

that wildcat bulletin was not negligible either. They had no problem with returns, but rather with printing more copies, so that in recent days there has been a considerably higher consumption of paper by many copying machines in the city, especially in the buildings of sociopolitical organizations.

Everyone wanted his copy of the sensitive material that had been politically branded. At the same time, it seemed that no one made any particular effort to close those unusual channels, so for months the bulletin of the "fund people" came out on 10 typed pages in A4 format, usually once a week.

After that, as we have said, half of Belgrade satisfied its thirst in a similar way for the memorandum, and then the letters of Vojislav Seselj (three were sent to Hamdija Pozderac, two to Dolanc and this most recent one to Mikulic) became the big hit on the pirate market. The letters were read and retold without hindrance, and they even reached other parts of the country, especially Ljubljana and Sarajevo. Thus Vojislav Seselj, whose public statements had been reduced to a minimum—or the media ignored them—found a way of maintaining very close contact with the public. By contrast with certain other authors, Seselj himself never concealed his authorship. The important particulars about him are on every letter, and he regularly sends them to most of the news media. And two of his letters managed to get published.

In some other cases, however, the authorship is subject to warranted doubt, which opens up unlimited space for possible manipulation. Thus in the letter-document allegedly sent to Dedijer by that intelligence agent, and which has already been seen by many who wanted to see it and many who did not want to see it, there is the remark that this document "can be used, but my name cannot be used in public anywhere without my permission, especially not in publications." This is why we are not doing it on this occasion either, although many readers, especially in Belgrade, will immediately know who and what are involved.

This is obviously a phenomenon which is arousing ever greater attention and which is spreading like an epidemic beyond Belgrade. On the same principle, the Ljubljana public, for example, learned about the "debate" in the LCY Central Committee and people in Sarajevo saw the list of those who had built villas in Neum (long before the names were published in the press). Thus the pirate editions of political subject matter are becoming a kind of agent of public opinion. Their emergence should not be exaggerated, but underestimation would not be close to reality either.

These are, after all, topics and people which—in spite of all the democratic moves concerning the public—often remain inaccessible, and quite often they are taboo for the press. Thus room is being opened up for an underground public to flourish and for a market of mainly

political piquancies in which individual letters, articles and other documents are illegally copied and to speak about those topics with their own kind of openness, without holding back.

Distorted Criteria

Certainly there are grounds for raising the issue of the authenticity of facts used in this way and the conclusions and assessments presented.

After all, in the network for spreading these materials that is organized in this way no one actually bears responsibility. Everything is actually up to the final consumer. And the kind of barrier that is to potential rumors which could be spread in this way (and sometimes is) is perhaps best shown by the fact that many people feel more and more important the more such papers they obtain to read. The malicious "publishers" and those who avoid certifying their views with their signature have certainly counted on that. Of course, it would be an illusion to think that only reliable and verified facts are being spread through these channels. Some things are being launched with the quite definite and in fact recognizable aim of causing static in public opinion and throwing out bait to curious people who are not critical.

And, of course, there are always quite a few such people because the channels for public communication in our country are restricted by various bureaucratic interventions and concepts. This is the logic of the bureaucratic mind which considers itself appointed by God to arbitrate what is for the public and what is not, to dose it out, and unfortunately its criteria in this are frequently distorted, so that it encourages the creation of new forms of information.

This heap of mimeographed documents and private printing is not harmless at all, since it forms a new consciousness and political relation, it creates a parallel political public whose echoes are much greater than the real value of that information precisely because of the greater inaccessibility. But it would be a mistake to point a finger just at the distributors of various petitions, mimeographed discussions, or documents.

Production of the information which the public encounters in this unusual way will drop off quite considerably and lose the epidemic proportions it now has only if the reasons why it has spread so much are removed. And the first condition is the further democratization of public life and of the media especially.

If the various lists of unsuitable authors and prohibited topics remain in effect, and they certainly do exist, then the pirate publications will increase. If certain editors continue to refuse to publish various reactions, then they will reach the readers by roundabout ways. And then the possibility of manipulating their content is manifold. Some of this forbidden fruit has lost the charm it once

had on the public scene, although if it were intact it would gain some importance and attractiveness. In any case, there would be greater responsibility for what is said and written in public. Mimeograph machines, copying machines, and anonymous originators are also its strong promoters, and this should be reckoned with more seriously even now.

The youth press was the first to get up the courage to pull out of the political "underground" certain people and articles which have thus gained official promotion, although previously, but in a specific public-secret way, they had been in communication with public opinion. Even that aroused a number of reactions. The fiercest were certainly those concerning publication of Seselj's letters in MLADINA and TRIBUNA, and we can anticipate that in this matter the youth press will not escape similar consequences in the future either. Nevertheless, removal of the judicial anathema from Seselj's letters shows that many of the things in the pirate publications which tickle the imagination of a segment of the public could exchange their life underground for legitimate publication. Not only would our public life be enriched in that way, but at the same time there would be a narrowing of the circle around those public-secret print shops whose purpose is to upset and disinform the public.

In view of the inclination of our mentality in these gloomy times to take on faith many things that come from proscribed circles and through unofficial channels, this is a quite serious question. But the answers cannot be furnished by the youth press alone.

07045

Freedom Committee Faulted for Serbian Chauvinism
28000116 Zagreb OKO in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 88 p 7

[Text] With a flair for dramatization and calculated effects, the group of intellectuals involved in the so-called Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Thought and Expression recently announced its proposal for the establishment of true equality among the ethnic groups of Yugoslavia (Zagreb, STUDENTSKI LIST, 24 February 1988). Even though a proposal so titled and addressed to the Federal Assembly and the Yugoslav public presupposes the raising of a question of general interest, the members of the committee seem unable to think outside the framework of the Serbian national milieu, inevitably limiting the possibility of motivating the non-Serbian population and thus fixing the real position of the latter. The committee states that the national question in Yugoslavia has been "opened in such a way as to undermine the very foundations of the Yugoslav community" and that "the rights of certain ethnic groups and above all the Serbian people have been diminished and restricted by means of ideological manipulation." The consequence of all this is that the "Serbian question has been opened up for the first time in the way that the Croatian question was during the

interwar period." The committee regards the culprits for the "open Serbian problem" to be the "ideologists" and "founders" of the "Yugoslav state," as well as the 1968 constitutional amendments and the 1974 Constitution. The committee states that "in the interest of establishing complete national, spiritual and cultural integrity for every Yugoslav ethnic group, regardless of the republic or province in which located, it is necessary to "utilize appropriate institutional and other means to achieve political, cultural and spiritual integration."

"Serbian Diaspora"

Constitutional reform seems to be just a good excuse for stressing the alleged subordinate position of the "Serbian diaspora," since this problem had earlier claimed the attention of Serbian intellectuals, with the difference that the intellectuals of earlier times did not need changes in the Constitution as cover and that their proposals were not addressed to the Yugoslav public. The committee's proposal is irresistibly remindful of a study by Stevan Moljevic of the postwar social order in "Greater Serbia," titled "Homogeneous Serbia" and dated 30 June 1941. Beginning with the summer of 1943, Stevan Moljevic was among other things the political leader of Draza Mihailovic's Chetnik movement, as well as his political counselor, helping to organize the Chetnik congress in the village of Ba near Valjevo in late January 1944. Continuing in the spirit of the Serbian Cultural Circle, Moljevic believed that Serbs have to "create and organize a homogenous Serbia to include the entire ethnic area in which Serbs live." The vice president of the Serbian Cultural Circle and Moljevic's predecessor as political leader of the Chetnik movement, Dragisa Vasic, in a letter to Draza Mihailovic in May 1942 commenting on a program for the postwar arrangement of Yugoslavia, states that the "question of a homogenous Serbian state encompassing the entire ethnic territory in which Serbs live is not up for discussion. All Serbs are in agreement on that point."

Presumably, believing that the only way to achieve equality for Yugoslav ethnic groups is through pure ethnic borders, the Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Thought and Expression criticizes the highest Yugoslav Communist Party leadership for having established borders between federal units (which are "mainly non-ethnic") "without any participation from the war-time legislature or the subsequent constituent assembly and without plebiscite of the people living in disputed areas." Probably for similar reasons, Moljevic held that a homogenous Serbia could be established only by resettlement and exchanges of "population, particularly of Croats from Serbian and Serbs from Croatian areas." Thus, he reasoned, Serbs would be able to fulfill their "historic mission," for that is the only way they can "implant their spirit and stamp" on Yugoslavia. "Serbs must exercise hegemony in the Balkans, but to exercise hegemony in the Balkans, they must first exercise hegemony in Yugoslavia." Moljevic believed that once the

borders with the Croats were settled, Serbs must "proceed to purge the country of all non-Serbian elements from within" (letter to Dragisa Vasic, late 1941). The "December First" Chetnik intellectual youth organizations of Montenegro, Boka and Sandzak, met in Sahovici in 1942 and similarly concluded that the future state "should be a unitarian one," "no ethnic minorities." In instructions to the commander of Chetnik detachments in Montenegro 20 December 1941, Draza Mihailovic stated the goals of the Chetnik movement to be the organization of a Greater Yugoslavia and within it a Greater Serbia, "ethnically pure within the boundaries of Serbia-Montenegro Bosnia and Hercegovina, Srem, Banat and Backa," followed by a "purge of all ethnic minorities and anational elements."

There is an interesting similarity between Draza Mihailovic and Vasa Cubrilovic regarding the use of Montenegrins. In a speech titled "Resettling the Albanians" before the Serbian Cultural Club in Belgrade 7 March 1937, Cubrilovic states that "people like us from the undeveloped regions, especially Montenegro, Herzegovina, Lika and Karjina, should move into the vacated territories once the Albanians migrate from Kosovo." However, "Montenegrins are the best choice for several reasons"—Montenegrins are poor and therefore ready to instigate constant sociopolitical movements disagreeable to the government; "and being of similar mentality and temperament to the Albanians, Montenegrins are the most suitable tool for curbing the Albanians." Cubrilovic expresses the opinion that more of a "sense for work and organization" needs to be instilled in the Montenegrins to overcome their mountaineer mentality and through "mixing and cross-breeding" to create a new type which will be "less of a local Montenegrin and more overall Serbian." Mihailovic, as though present at the Serbian Cultural Club 7 March 1937, states that "the areas purged of national minorities and anational elements should be settled by Montenegrins (only families that are poor, upright in an ethnic sense and honest to be considered. The Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Thought and Expression is afraid that the Serbs, generally the most dispersed nationality, may become assimilated by the non-Serbian population. This fear is unfounded, of course, because the Serbs have for many centuries "inhabited the territories that, in current times, belong to other republics and provinces," and have still maintained their national identity, so why such fearfulness? It is more likely that the committee resents the minority status of the Serbian population, as did Nikola Pasic's People's Radical Party. Ivo Banac in "The National Question in Yugoslavia," explaining the policy of the People's Radical Party, states the party's new: "Even if federalism in Yugoslavia were to be accepted, Serbs must never have minority status. Serbian-majority districts belonging to historical regions with non-Serbian majorities should, according to the Radical idea, secede from larger historical entities to protect local Serbs from the possibility of non-Serbian majority rule. On the other hand, the existence of non-Serbian-majority districts within historically Serbian territories would mean the

assimilation of those particular districts into Greater Serbia. This would make the local majority a minority within the Greater Serbian unit."

Ethnic Purity and Purity of Reason

The committee characteristically states that the Serbs are the most dispersed of nationalities, listing data on the number living in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and outside "Serbia proper," concluding that no small numbers also live in Montenegro and Macedonia but avoiding exact figures. According to the 1971 census, there were 39,512 Serbs in Montenegro, or 7.5 percent of the total population of Montenegro; in 1981, 19,407, or 3.3 percent. In Macedonia, there were 46,465 Serbs (2.8 percent) in 1971; in 1981, 44,613 (2.3 percent). When the figures do not suit, the committee fails to cite them, building up instead a false picture of "no small numbers" of Serbs, who have to exist in adequate numbers everywhere—how else to justify the need for appropriate, i.e., Serbian, ethnic institutions and organizations and the demand for the use of the Serbian language and Cyrillic alphabet in such surroundings? In any case, as far as Montenegro is concerned, the committee does not have to worry about the assimilation of Serbs as long as the Serbian Orthodox Church operates. The committee's fear that 20,000 Serbs will be assimilated in Montenegro would have no foundation even if the Montenegrins were to follow the example set by the Macedonians in 1967 and reinstate an autocephalous church, reverting to the legitimate status prior to the "unification" of the Serbian Orthodox Church (1920).

The committee rightfully claims that language is the bearer and guardian of every nation's "spiritual and cultural identity." So I justifiably hope that the committee will advocate changing the name from Croato-Serbian to Serbo-Croatian. The acceptance of the current terminology ignores the following fact as stated recently in DANAS (3 November 1987, page 6):

"Montenegrins and the Moslems of Bosnia-Hercegovina have participated equally with Croats and Serbs in the creation, development, and life of this language! The sole solution to match the true state of affairs, devoid of prejudices in favor of 'historically pre-existing' (actually ahistorically fetishized) and 'more equal' nations, would also render formally irrelevant one of the main 'arguments' behind the thesis of the nonexistence of extrapolitical, i.e., genuine bases for recognizing Moslem and Montenegrin national identities."

Even if Yugoslavia's most recent history were to fall into oblivion, the committee should receive no support for its efforts to establish ethnic associations and institutions outside of the mother republic as the only guarantee for the preservation of ethnic unity. Are the members of the committee so afraid that the Serbs will undergo assimilation that they must, exclusively for this reason, advocate the destruction of federal Yugoslavia? Is the Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Thought and

Expression so incapable of imagining Yugoslavia without pure ethnic borders? Is the need for ethnic purity greater than the need for purity of reason?

Federal Yugoslavia was not created carelessly but rather for the purpose of preventing the hegemony of any one ethnic group. Presumably the Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Thought and Expression does not wish to convince us that it advocates the hegemony of the Serbian people solely out of nostalgia?

13454/08309

**Banac Book on National Question Reviewed in
LCY Journal**

28000126 *Belgrade SOCIJALIZAM in Serbo-Croatian*
No 4, 1988 pp 241-245

[Review by Dubavka Strajic of book "Nacionalno pitanje u Jugoslaviji" [The National Question in Yugoslavia] by Ivo Banac. Globus, Zagreb, 1988, 420 pages]

[Text] Questions about the relationship between the social community and the individual are as old as human society, and will continue to exist for as long as man does. Relations between the individual and organized society—be it the state, nation or local community—have been measured by the degree of freedom, or rather the possibilities for increasing human freedoms while reducing control and repression over the individual. One of these questions is that of freedom of the nation and of the individual as one of its members. In the Balkan peninsula, the question of the relationship between the freedom of an individual as a citizen and as a member of an ethnic group is one of the central political and social sources of conflict and integration between the nations. The dialectics of social development are perhaps distinguished by the unity of contradictions most of all in this question. During the 19th and 20th centuries, the national question was the basis for the creation of states just as much as for their disintegration. Sluggishly and with a great deal of discontinuity, modern nationalism succeeded in achieving the historical goal of a uniform market and economy, which was socially and legally sanctioned with the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918. However, there is one destructive political force that unification does not eliminate—separatism, which remains and endures among the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities as an unalterable fact of history, even while the political system and basic class relations assume different forms. The study published by Ivo Banac in the United States of America and recently translated and published by Globus in Zagreb is interesting as the view of a foreigner attempting to use his research to reveal phenomena that to an American reader are of interest, but at the same time are more than readily understandable in view of the historical process of the genesis of the Balkan nations. According to I. Banac, this question was dealt with in great detail by Prof H. Seton-Watson, "Nations and States," 1980. The specific circumstances of this study

are such that it was published not only in an environment in which there are no problems in national relations, but also in an environment in which the social sciences have reached a certain level of theoretical and methodological maturity, in which multidisciplinary research and theoretical synthesis take place, meaning that it is possible that the results of this research are not well known abroad. It is only in the last few decades that important studies from different disciplines (historical sciences, sociology, political science) have been published, among them the monograph by Desanka Pesic, "CPY and the National Question, 1929-1937," the study by Dusan Icevic on the nation during self-management, the study by Predraga Matvejevic on Yugoslavism, and the theoretical synthesis by Zvonek Lerotic on the nation. However, a series of legal and political science studies view this question as an integral part of the problem of developing federalism, constitutionality and the practice of socialism (cf. the essay by Prof Jovan Dordevic, "Problems of Freedom in Socialism"). Thus, the study by I. Banac was published in an environment in which written treatments of the issue number in the dozens while the various public forms of oral dialogue—debates about national relations, roundtable discussions, etc.—are truly innumerable. The Yugoslav reader knows at least the basic facts from the history of the Yugoslav ethnic groups, especially the period between the wars, the programs of individual factions and their basic ideas for resolving the national question. For a foreigner, the text is at points incomprehensible, because there is an implicit assumption of knowledge about political and economic history at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century (especially industrialization and agrarian issues), without which it is impossible to understand the problems accompanying the political resolution of the national question in the interwar period. The author has divided the study into six parts, in which he looks at the genesis of modern nations, the development of modern nationalism in the 19th century and the creation of the Yugoslav state: "Antecedents and Antipodes" (pp 31-137), "Great Serbia and Great Yugoslavia" (pp 139-214), "The Hard Opposition" (pp 216-316), "The Autonomist Opposition" (pp 318-353), "Disenchantment" (pp 354-376), "The Building of Skadar" (pp 377-386). The study has a name and subject index, plus a bibliography of material and literature used. The author first defines the concept of "nation," differentiating it from the concept of the ethnic group or other similar social group. At the very beginning of the study, he points out a concept that is paradoxical only at first glance: "Although the various schools of socialism have equated nationalism with bourgeois ideology, social ownership of the means of production has not necessarily led to internationalism. In fact, it is possible to say that the influence of national ideologies has fallen off in the capitalist world, while it has possibly even grown stronger in the socialist countries, which are inspired by the motives of collectivization and nationalization." (p 39) This hypothesis is significant—in a narrower sense because it shows the focus of the study. In a broader sense, it is significant because it points to one problem

faced by everyone who studies the concept of nation and ethnic groups—that the nation is a universal phenomenon, broader than the class question, ideology and the political system of society. In fact, ideologies are organized in accordance with the nation; it is always difficult to formulate a critical viewpoint that does not organize the nation in accordance with some existing ideological view, and this existing ideological view is based on concrete economic interests; thus, the circle is complete. Perhaps the best and scientifically most fruitful approach is based on the interest of the struggle for freedom, for a better organization of interpersonal relations and on a reduction of social conflicts. This approach is also acceptable from the point of view of science and practice, but it is not and cannot be value neutral, and the researcher is not "an individual above ideology and society," as Prof Lerotic writes in the book's preface. It is not a bad thing for the Yugoslav public to hear critical thought about itself, its history and its way of being, as long as there is respect for the facts. The task faced by Ivo Banac is very complex: It was necessary to get a grip on an enormous number of historical facts, archive material and extensive historical writings in order to arrive at a level at which it is possible to draw theoretical conclusions and produce organized theses. This lays open the question of how to present the development of nations and ethnic groups within the context of political conflicts. The author has resolved this question with varying degrees of success, and there remains a certain unevenness and tension between the study of the development of the nation and political practice. One gets the impression that the author did not specify and adequately explain to what extent some processes are the lawful and inevitable expression of the need for the development of national individuality, and where legitimate human rights end and political games disguised as national interests begin. Better in terms of values and clarity of elucidation is the part of the study in which the author provides a good description of the genesis of the Yugoslav people, the creation of languages and dialects. Attention is also given to the importance of the conflicts between the various religions in the Balkan cultural and historical domain, the historical conflict between Christianity and Islam and its implications for the formation of a nation, languages and political factions in the period before and after the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In this part of the study, I. Banac successfully handles the enormous mass of economic and cultural facts and follows the development of modern national ideologies, so that the first and second parts of the study constitute the approach by a modern researcher to a completed process, as well as an informative introduction for the reader. Its informativeness is furthered by maps of the ethnic composition, languages and other basic information about the peoples of Yugoslavia. The problems are somewhat more complicated when one looks at the relationship between the nation and the state, or rather statehood. When he examines the role and influence of ecclesiastical organizations, especially those of the Orthodox church, the author does not

emphasize that these organizations were national-traditional, critical elements for the preservation of national [ethnic] awareness and culture, and therefore more of a cultural factor than a lever of power and control acting as a counterpart to the secular powers. Despite the authorities in civil law, the standard-bearers of ethnic and cultural values of the people were more threatened by Islamic assimilation than was political power, as the author suggests: "However, relations between the Serbian church and the Nemanjic state could be likened to the delicate relations between—to use Pilar's concept—the soul and the body. When the body fell to Turkey, the soul preserved its memory." (p 73) This assessment cannot be accepted without reserve: "With the exception of the ecumenical patriarchate and, much later, the Bulgarian exarchate (founded in 1870), the Serbian Orthodox Church, with all of its elements, was the only ecclesiastical organization in the Balkans able to put its own stamp on the national movement. Since the Serbian Orthodox Church was the standard-bearer of political tradition, after Serbian political independence was achieved, neither a single Serbian secular authority nor its representatives—even those who were not religious—were able to regard the Orthodox church as an illegitimate force." (p 74) Simply the role played as preserver of the national identity, which could have been squashed by Islamic domination, is sufficient acknowledgement of the Orthodox national churches, and this question should not be mixed up with the formation of national states and the genesis of the Yugoslav idea in the second half of the 19th century.

The Yugoslav state emerged as a result of both the strong will of and great sacrifices by the Yugoslav peoples, but the political activity of the masses or their passivization is discussed as a secondary matter, primarily in conjunction with industrial strikes, farmer uprisings against the branding of cattle in 1919, etc. Even more importantly, the development of the national question and its resolution within the context of the first Yugoslav state cannot be examined without taking into account the role of the great powers, imperialism and international relations. In chapters three through five, the author examines the political programs and political biographies of the most important figures who pursued a policy of national factions and created the first Yugoslav state. This central part of the book includes several lesser-known facts about the factional struggles and the various program directions of the bourgeois factions prior to 1918. The deeper essence of the process of political formation of a national awareness and the emergence of the Yugoslav idea can be seen behind the discord, the personal quarrels and various affairs. The political differences present while wrestling over the question of a federation or confederation are well-presented. However, in enumerating the facts that are difficult to explain—from the social structure of the Yugoslav nations during the period in which Yugoslavia was being shaped for the role suggested by I. Mestrovic—there are omissions and some facts are inadequate, as are the political programs

(Why was J. Smolaka's interesting federal plan omitted?) It is precisely in this middle part of the book that one encounters the problem noted above—if there is some general pattern for the development of a nation, as there are for the creation of a unified market and state, then this is not a problem. For Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, these are already universal questions, and these questions are not differentiated with respect to particular problems of the Yugoslav peoples as expressed through their political struggle. Moreover, the problem loses its full degree of complexity if it is removed from the European context, since the true source of many national tensions is the interests of the major powers in the Balkans as a sphere of interest. The national question is not only a question of the free association of mutual interests among the Yugoslav peoples, but rather their struggle for integrity and survival against intervention by the major powers. The Yugoslav idea emerged during the era of the Holy Alliance, and the national question turned up at the Congress of Berlin (1878) and carried through into the Balkan wars and the First World War. If there is no mention of the German push eastward, then this is not intended to express a certain political or ideological position; rather, it represents an omission of essential historical facts that are critical to understanding the national question in Yugoslavia, thus making it more difficult for the foreign reader to understand these complex historical processes. The implicit assumption that everyone is familiar with these facts is not an adequate argument, but short comments on relations with the major powers could have even resolved the question through the system mentioned. Ultimately, not even the significance of the Treaty of Versailles is satisfactorily emphasized for one to understand the foreign policy of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the role of the major powers in the interwar period.

The study, which contains sociological and historical ideas and processes for the constitution of the Yugoslav idea, often makes reference to some (banal) detail from the lives of individual politicians, while important information on the modern economic history of the Yugoslav

peoples is omitted, especially the development of industry at the end of the 19th century and the agrarian question. Without examining these two major questions—what the class composition of the voters in the various factions was, as well as the reason for the later resolution of the agrarian question (Yugoslavia was among the last countries in Europe to resolve this issue; thus, it was in the 20th century that feudalism was abolished)—it is not possible to look at the discontinuity in the development of capitalism in Yugoslav lands, even less so at the disparity between the developed North and undeveloped South, which is again reflected in present-day Yugoslavia. It is understandable that the author faced a large number of problems, and that he resolved some of them more successfully than others. But in addition to these methodological questions, there is the essential question of the relationship between man and history—in this study, everything has been presented through the viewpoint of factional struggle, that beloved Balkan mentality, but without any appreciation for political ideas as an expression of the will of the people, of the ordinary citizen who in this Yugoslavia has seen cooperation and finally an integrated cultural and historical entity, forcefully cut off from intervention by the major powers. This relationship between the sphere of political mediation and public opinion is not adequately explained.

Social groups develop positive and negative attitudes that determine the behavior of individuals. Among social attitudes, social prejudices are the most stubborn and the hardest to change. I. Banac's study includes false interpretations and factual omissions. But what is offensive is the presence of prejudices about the Balkan mentality, which considers the problem of the community versus the nation as invariable, and ensures the success of every positive initiative. For the foreign reader, this study is not utterly useless, but thus far H. Seton-Watson's "Nations and States" is recommended as a more basic and informative study.

12271

BULGARIA

Economic Changes, Tax Reform *22000040 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian* 2 May 88 pp 8, 9

[Interview granted by Evgeni Uzunov, deputy minister of economy and planning: "The Tax Reform;" Fourth Interview on Problems of Bulgarian Economic Restructuring]

[Text] Starting with 1 January a new tax system was applied to enterprises. Actually, this is our greatest financial reform. Although it is being understood, there also exists the psychological feeling that "it will operate a while" and, after its imperfections have become apparent, it will be abandoned. It was the desire to disperse such prejudices that "gave birth" to the first question addressed at Evgeni Uzunov, deputy minister of the Ministry of Economy and Planning, in his meeting with the editors of POGLED.

What are the merits of the new tax system?

Let me start with what is now most important. The purpose of the new tax system, above all, is to create conditions and prerequisites for more efficient economic activities through economic means. Some people may immediately object: "But the taxes already take away some of the profits. What type of conditions for efficient economic activity are we discussing? This is precisely one of the main dimensions of the new features in the changes made in the financial mechanism. It is not the fiscal but the stimulating and regulatory role of the tax that has been given priority in the new tax system. In other words, to an even greater extent it becomes an economic instrument applied by the state for purposes of stimulation and economic coercion aimed at achieving better economic results. For example, it is an indicative fact that the percentage of all resource taxes paid to the state budget does not exceed 8.2 percent, i.e., it is insignificant. This is a confirmation of the statement we made to the effect that the purpose is not fiscal but one of applying economic influence to ensure the more efficient utilization of production factors.

The second characteristic feature is the fact that much better conditions are created for self-financing and, therefore, self-management. In 1988 the highest profit withholdings will not exceed 51 percent, compared with 60 percent in 1987. This means that the enterprises will keep more than 1.2 billion leva more than they did in 1987. Another advantage is that the tax provisions are uniform for all tax-paying enterprises, i.e., they offer identical starting economic conditions and they are of relatively longer duration.

It is also important to mention that, as they are, the tax rates require a minimal profitability of 4-5 percent, i.e., they urgently face the economic management and the labor collective with the question of how to use their means of production, is their volume optimal, and so on.

By sharing all this with you I would not like it to be interpreted as a blind praise. The new tax system services a rather complex transition in the restructuring of the national economy and, naturally, bears the marks of this transition. In other words, it is not perfect and impeccable. Its improvements will be in the nature of a process.

When we make changes, do we seek comparisons with worldwide practices?...

We studied very carefully (in as much as this was possible) worldwide practices which are quite disparate. In many developed countries (socialist as well as capitalist) profit withholding is showing a declining trend, ranging between 45 and 50 percent. Such is the case in Czechoslovakia, the FRG and Austria. The lowest level is that of the United States, 35 percent. As I pointed out, it is 51 percent in our country. Consequently, we are entirely consistent with what is taking place in the rest of the world. Let me say that we have borrowed the good features of the practices of these countries while, at the same time, taken into consideration the specific nature of the Bulgarian economy. This is both natural and inevitable. As to foreign experience, however, occasionally we tend to go into extremes or be wrong. For example, in the course of the work it was repeatedly stated that the developed countries have a simpler and clearer taxation system. They pay two or three taxes and that is all. This claim proved quite untrue. There are more than 60 different types of taxes paid in the FRG, 70 in Austria, and so on.

Bearing in mind differences in the profitability of the different sectors and enterprises, what kind of approach will be adopted?

This is the origin of the greatest difficulties which, in all likelihood, will parallel our economy in the years to come, because we have some highly profitable as well as losing enterprises. That is why uniform tax rates are not perceived in the same manner by all managers and collectives. For that reason the Regulation on Economic Activities also stipulates a system of bonuses and subsidies. Through them the state will help those which, for objective reasons, such as international circumstances, nature, etc., are either losing or underprofitable. Enterprises showing a 4-5 percent profitability (considered a minimal level) can pay their taxes to the state and set up residual wage, expansion and technical improvement of production and sociocultural measures funds, i.e., engage in normal economic activities. Collectives which cannot pay their taxes are actually admitting that they are doing poor economic work. The reasons must be

determined. It is important to know that both bonuses and subsidies will be based on legal rates whereas state aid will be provided on the basis of a specific program for upgrading efficiency.

What approach will be adopted toward enterprises which find themselves in a difficult economic situation for subjective reasons and are unable to pay their taxes?

I already mentioned that the Regulation on Economic Activities stipulates the granting of bonuses, subsidies and state aid, i.e., assistance. Those which find themselves in a difficult financial situation for subjective reasons and which receive insufficient subsidies will also have to submit a program to the Ministry of Economy and Planning and, after a specific study, will be given a subsidy. However, if their program is not implemented, i.e., if economic activities and results are not improved, this will be followed by penalties and the procedure stipulated in the regulation, i.e., in the future the state will not guarantee cloudless days and a safe existence to poorly working enterprises. It may be necessary to close down those which are unprofitable. Goods needed by the market will be assigned on a competitive basis to another enterprise. Naturally, this will be done whenever necessary and not for the sake of satisfying the impatience of some people who consider such cases exclusively as a guarantee and an indicator that the "mechanism" is working.

Who can decide if an enterprise has failed? What is the role of the collective, of the municipality?

Three figures, in this case: the state, the bank and the collective. If it is the municipality which has set up the enterprise it could close it down.

How will the new tax system force the enterprise to create conditions for economic growth and efficient output and, hence, self-financing and self-management? On this level, could you explain the economic purpose of the more important taxes?

The tax on basic production assets will equal 3 percent of their value. It will force the enterprise to make the most optimal use of buildings, machines and equipment. The state will be interested in whether or not the machines are idle or work, using economic means, the tax. It demands 3 percent of their value. Good managers would immediately calculate that if with one lathe they are able to produce twice as much their profit will be twice as high. This will eliminate the need to convince people through the press, radio and television that we must work in two or three shifts, and so on. Many economic personalities and theoreticians believe that the taxation of basic production assets may delay the application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, for the tax will increase the cost of the new equipment. It is precisely the opposite: it is economically unjustified to apply new facilities which would fail to ensure at least average profitability.

Today the collectives are taking over the ownership and, in taking inventory realize by themselves that some machines are unnecessary and so they sell them... Let us go on with the tax on their turnover. How can you convince, for example, the director of a silk manufacturing factory in Karlovo who considers this tax unfair?

As we know, the working capital consists of raw materials, materials, finished but unsold goods and the payment account in the Bulgarian National Bank. The purpose of this tax is to accelerate the turnover of working capital and to optimize its amount. It is common knowledge that we frequently make use of the faulty practice of overstocking. However, the turnover of working capital is one the criteria of profitable economic activities. Finished but unsold goods stored in a warehouse are a ballast for the enterprise. This applies to stocks of raw and other materials which the enterprise would use months and, in some cases, years afterwards.

But what if raw materials are scarce, as would be the case with raw silk?

It is true that there are many other obstructions, including the shortage of some raw materials. The economic game is not played under ideal circumstances. Nonetheless, in this specific case such a tax triggers the aspiration to exert economic pressure in order to follow a specific line. If the director is able to organize his work in such a way that the raw materials reach the enterprise not in 2 months but in 2 weeks or 2 days, and if the finished goods are sold immediately, the enterprise will pay a lower tax on its own working capital. The purpose is to accelerate the dynamics of material values. Some economic managers practice the wrong philosophy of keeping in the bank "funds for a rainy day." Turning this around, it is more profitable for the enterprise to have a quick turnover of 1 million leva five times than a 5 million once.

Equally difficult to accept is the tax on manpower. What is its purpose?

I know that this tax has many opponents. Its purpose is to ensure, first of all, the more efficient use of the manpower and, second, its more efficient and optimal territorial deployment. It varies according to the settlement. In the largest cities—Sofia, Plovdiv, Ruse and Varna—the enterprise pays a tax of 600 leva annually per worker. In cities of the so-called second functional type, such as Veliko Turnovo, Blagoevgrad, Shumen and others, 420 leva; and in cities of the third group, 300 leva. No such tax is levied on any other settlement. This tax forces the collectives to improve their labor organization in such a way as to achieve good financial results with less people. For understandable reasons, it does not have to be paid by enterprises in small settlements. Society is interested in keeping the people in those settlements and to limit migration processes.

Under the old system the income tax was strongly differentiated by sector. For example, it was 70-80 percent for electronics, and some 60 percent for light industry. Why is it now uniform, 40 percent, for everyone?

I mentioned at the beginning the standardization of rates. The strong differentiation which was practiced in the past was essentially consistent with and adapted to the specific financial situation and needs of the individual enterprises. This made the tax lose its economic nature.

What are worldwide practices concerning tax benefits?

The practice of tax benefits is extensively used by all countries. This is a special type of economic privilege which in most cases benefits those who prosper, who develop well, who apply scientific and technical achievements faster. This is the case in our country as well. The new laws call for a number of tax facilities. Thus, for example, profits from new items, technologies and services which ensure technological and market breakthroughs are tax free for a period of 2 years. This will cover some of the expenditures incurred in the purchasing and use of highly efficient technologies. Tax benefits are stipulated also in order to guarantee the filling of state orders, and others.

At the same time, however, this transitional period also calls for taxation facilities for some economic units or production lines which are experiencing temporary financial difficulties.

There is a great deal of talk now also on the possibility for an enterprise which earns foreign exchange to keep it (after minimal withholdings for the state), thus setting up its own foreign exchange fund. How will this problem be solved?

The Regulation on Economic Activities stipulates that the enterprise, as a self-governing economic organization, and after settling its accounts with the state, will have its own foreign currency. It will also be allowed to purchase foreign currency from the Bulgarian National Bank or any other enterprise which has a surplus. We are nonetheless at the start of this new practice. Difficulties and unsolved problems remain.

But this shows a kind of discrimination, for some enterprises have extensive opportunities for export while others have no access to foreign markets whatsoever. How will they develop, and how will they modernize their output?

A certain percentage of the foreign exchange earned from exports will be centralized in order to go to those who need raw and other materials but have no foreign exchange earnings, for their goods are sold within the country. The state cannot abandon its role of redistributing foreign exchange.

In connection with the Regulation on Individual and Collective Labor Activity competitions for leasing establishments were announced but we note that the people are cautious. They are either unacquainted with the conditions or else know them all too well and therefore abstain. In the third issue of the periodical OBSSH-TESTVO I PRAVO Svetlana Krustovska wrote the following: "My personal view is that Article 13 of the Law on Taxes is restrictive." Is anything stipulated to amend it? What are your views on encouraging such activities?

The law on the general income tax was passed in 1952. At that time the policy was to restrict such activities in order to give priority to the development of the public sector. With the help of Article 13, which was based on a steep progression, the state appropriated a high percentage of the income of people in the liberal professions, craftsmen and petty merchants.

A new document which would amend this tax is being drafted. Its purpose is to tax to a certain level the income earned from all activities stipulated in the regulation, considered as wages. The same type of incentives and penalties will be applied to those who work at a plant or hold a second job or else have taken over a public catering institution or drive privately owned cabs. Social justice is guaranteed.

The new tax system has been in operation for the past 4 months. Are the enterprises paying their taxes regularly?

The majority of economic managements and labor collectives realize the nature and purpose of the new taxes. For that reason they must seriously assess their work. Others, however, immediately undertake to prove that the tax burden is unbearable, that they have no reserves and that they should be freed from paying one type of tax or another. I already mentioned that the Regulation on Economic Activities stipulates such possibilities and, naturally, whenever necessary this will apply. The main thing, however, is that all must be based on a profound and objective economic study with a view to ensuring greater efficiency in all economic activities.

Could you make a projection concerning the expected results of the reform in the tax system?

I am confident that the new tax system will be an efficient economic instrument which will contribute to more efficient economic activities. It will not be easy, particularly at the beginning, for in addition to the objective circumstances, we must also surmount psychological barriers. This, however, is always a complex and difficult process.

05003

Innovations, Efficiency Work, Medical Inventions
22000039 Sofia *TEKHNICHESKO DELO* in Bulgarian
21 May 88 pp 1, 4

[Articles by Vanya Rel'ovska and Bistra Dzhangarova]

[Text]

The INRA Is 40 Years Old

Forty years ago, Ukase No 907 of the National Assembly Presidium decreed the creation of an Institute for Rationalizations—INRA—under the governmental committee for economic and financial problems of the Council of Ministers. Its purpose was to guide invention and rationalization activities in all areas of the country's economic and cultural building and to be concerned with the popularization of such activities and the acceleration of the pace of their development. Whereas from the time Bulgaria was liberated from the Turkish yoke until 1944, 680 Bulgarian inventions were registered, and during the 1st 5-year period only 14 requests for the registration of inventions were filed, during the 8th 5-Year period their number increased by a factor of 300, totaling 3800 requests annually, with economic results from the applied suggestions exceeding 1 billion leva. By the end of 1987 the INRA had registered 16,590 trademarks and marks for services, 1360 industrial prototypes and 725 generic names.

Specialists, engineers, scientific workers and, in general, anyone working in science and technology, consider the INRA their home. I unwittingly recalled this definition, frequently mentioned by the inventors, as I was entering the building on Nasur boulevard, a few days before INRA's birthday, which is 4 June. The collective of this institute, which is like an "embassy of science and technology," has something to show for its 40th birthday.

I shall begin my birthday report on the 3rd floor of the institute, where the electronic computer center and the automated control system (ASU) of the INRA, which were installed in 1983, are located. An automated information system (AIS) operates as a subsystem of the ASU. It records, follows up and reports on the filing of invention requests. It already has bibliographic information for the entire national patent fund since 1948. It is worth knowing that prior to the creation of the INRA the patent fund had some 6000 descriptions of all the invention patents. In 1967 the Central Patent Fund numbered 3.5 million descriptions; today it has 15 million descriptions of inventions from 41 countries.

Since the beginning of this year the INRA has had new equipment which substantially expands and improves the automation of patent-information processes. The new system consists of an IBM 4300 computer, which is compatible and allows a linkage with the unified network and exchange of information with any other computer of the same generation.

The enhanced technical indicators of the new computer open extensive opportunities for the development of patent-information activities. The introduction of referential information in the system will make it more useful and generate greater demand. Furthermore, an automated information system is being set up for recording, following up and accounting for activities related to trademarks and industrial prototypes. A machine carrier for the entire stock of verbal trademarks is being installed so that their expert evaluation be machine-processed.

What are the future prospects? Unquestionably, the patent-information system of the INRA will continue to develop in order to provide conditions for the maximally fast and comprehensive access to the best creations of the human mind. Soon the data base providing a full description of Bulgarian inventions will be recorded on the latest and most promising carrier: optical disks using a laser beam.

Thirty steps above this floor is the area of the "appliers," specialists who select inventions and help in their application. The INRA finances experimentation and utilization of particularly useful suggestions. In 1987 alone the institute appropriated 413,000 leva for this purpose.

The work of the specialists in the "Economic and Patent Policy" does not stop there. For the past 8 years they have sponsored a national topic inventions competition, the major purpose of which is to solve specific problems in the national economy. The results have been specific as well: during the 8th-Five Year Plan inventions covering 36 topics were accepted for application, with expected economic results totaling 29 million leva; 6 million of which have already been achieved; last year 8 topic problems were solved on the level of inventions, with expected economic results of 8 million leva.

For the past 10 years the personnel in the "Expert Evaluation" and "Economic and Patent Policy" areas have been sponsoring the "Invention of the Month" competition. Every year between 30 and 50 significant technical solutions are being rated and their descriptions are sent to the organizations which will be applying them. Thus, without being an application organization, the INRA seeks and finds a great variety of means for the faster application of promising and efficient achievements.

It is hardly questionable that the INRA "Expert Evaluation" is its most popular unit. The work of the experts is unique and essential, for they are specialists who must decide whether requests for the acknowledgment of inventions, discoveries, trademarks, generic name or industrial prototypes are to be accepted or denied. This is a very specific, complex and labor-intensive work, for the range covered by the experts in the scientific and

technical areas is wide; let us add to this the analytical-critical nature of the creative process and the psychological stress caused by the rather high volume of information processed in foreign languages, as well as the fast work pace. To be an expert in the INRA means to be a highly skilled creative personality, i.e., to be a good specialist in the scientific and technical area for which one is responsible, to be knowledgeable about patents, to think logically and to know foreign languages. Also needed are an objective attitude and mental resilience in order to be able patiently to withstand the attacks and objections of dissatisfied or nervous authors, to keep in touch with them and, at the same time, to help in the development of new efficient ideas. Naturally, such responsibility has its moral backing: the decisions of the experts qualify the efforts of our highly skilled scientific and technical cadres and shape the patent policy of the individual socialist organization and the state.

In this time of qualitative changes in economic and cultural life, the INRA obligations and responsibilities will be increased. The new conditions of self-government will demand improvements in the extent and the creation of new approaches to the organization and management of invention and rationalization work. The INRA is entering its 5th decade with the feeling of being a wise group with even greater possibilities, confident that it will be able to implement the imperative of ensuring a qualitatively new growth of our economy.

Express Cycloplegia

The idea of developing a means of express cycloplegia and the method for its application originated in the course of the daily practical work of Candidate of Medical Sciences Doctor Ivan Koynov, from the Avio-medical Institute.

"Some foreign scientific publications," he told us, "indicate that 1 year in the training of a flier costs about \$100,000. No other profession the training of which is so costly exists, other than that of cosmonaut, which is just as expensive. This raises the question of forecasting the flight life. In my area, this involves the accurate determination of the refraction of the eye, which determines the suitability of a flight candidate."

A necessary prerequisite for such studies is for the eye to be considered a static optical system. Doctor Koynov concentrated his creative quest on achieving the same effect but more quickly and more efficiently. Subsequently, this idea became a reality and was protected with an authorship certificate which was issued by the INRA in August 1977. It was as of then, its author says, that "the struggle for its application began."

The drug was subjected to a series of tests. The first was the stability test, which guarantees its efficiency for no less than 2 years. A method for analyzing the components and their correlation was developed. It is used by

the State Drug Control Institute. Experiments were conducted on the drug's effect, using experimental animals. It was tested under clinical conditions. The moment the successful completion of the tests in 3 clinics in the country were concluded it was submitted for industrial production. The permission was issued by the commission on drugs of the Medical Academy in December 1982. Despite the proven significance of the drug, from the health and economic viewpoints, it took 2 years for an experimental series to be produced. This was followed by the familiar cycle of extensive correspondence among different agencies on undertaking regular production. With the help of the BISA this became possible by the end of 1986. The first regular batch commercially produced came out almost 10 years after the authorship certificate was issued.

This year, the drug for express cycloplegia and the method for its application were suggested for the first time at the "Invented in Sofia" exhibit. The success of its author was proved by his second-place award. The pharmaceutical name of the drug is Cycloplegin. Its nature as a means of express cycloplegia is determined by its purpose. It blocks the ability of the eye to adapt its focus for vision at different distances (the so called "accommodation paresis") during an examination or surgery. As a result of this, the drug is used with the same efficiency in the study of the back of the eye, the widening of the pupils, prior to eye correction or preoperative treatment. Its description as "express" is based on its fast action on the eye. Thus, for example, the time which is needed for expanding the eye pupil and the examination with the new method takes about 1 hour. It includes the 3 consecutive applications of Cycloplegin drops. Its effect on the body does not exceed 40 hours.

The same type of examination, which until recently involved the use of a 1-percent atropine solution, requires several days of preliminary treatment of the eye before the examination. The effect of the atropine disappears after some 14 days. This is a time during which the patient cannot work. The influence of the drug also disturbs his ability to engage in some seemingly simple actions, such as dressing, feeding himself or walking. What if the patient is a child? Such an examination necessarily means that one of the parents has to stay at home.

The social effect is the one which indicates most clearly the advantages of the new method. It is based on statistical studies, according to which out of 100,000 people examined every year, 7000 are engaged in production work. Multiplying their number times the days spent in examination (an average of 10), the result is an annual saving of 70,000 labor days and productivity worth 1 million leva in the social area. To the author, the social effect of the drug is related to meeting the requirement of one of the basic pharmacological principles: "to seek and administer the smallest possible dose with maximal results." Other advantages must include "not to be toxic" and "not to trigger supersensitivity." This

presumes, first of all, that the above principle is observed, after which its better qualities compared to other similar drugs must be confirmed.

The assessment of the effect on the health as a result of this drug has already been made and can be most accurately confirmed by physicians. This is supported by the interest shown in the drug Cycloplegin on the domestic and international markets. The expected economic results of its marketing, as estimated at the Development and Application Base of the Chemical-Pharmaceutical Combine, will exceed 150,000 leva in foreign exchange and the foreign exchange earnings will equal 400,000 leva.

05003

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Problems in Starting Private Services Viewed

24000118c Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
3 May 88 p 4

[Article by Eva Sadilkova: "When and What Kind of Services From Private Entrepreneurs—A Quick Look Into the Practice of Some Okreses"]

[Text] Services are among the most often sought work. This is natural since every citizen needs something from time to time and relies on the help of local economy establishments, of production cooperatives, and, in recent times, also upon citizens who have received permission to provide services. According to an analysis conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research of the Federal Statistical Office, not quite one-fourth of the citizens involved expressed their satisfaction with the services. The remainder did not evaluate services in a positive manner. They stated that even after the price increases for services, some did not improve and some even became worse. The principal objects of criticism were long deadlines, poor quality, and the accompanying cost of the services rendered.

The inadequate level of services rendered has negative political and economic consequences. Compared to 5 to 6 percent annual growth in services between the 1960's and the 1980's, the current increase is roughly 2.5 percent. The level of services rendered is not commensurate with the maturity of the Czechoslovak economy. Employment in services is substantially lower in Czechoslovakia than it is in the developed countries of Europe.

On the Basis of Permission

In recent times, the performance of some work by citizens has become an inseparable component of the register of services. Toward the end of 1987, the number of permits issued by national committees to citizens in Czechoslovakia amounted to more than 30,000. The adopted amendments of the regulations of the Government of the CSR and SSR became effective 1 February

1988. It stems from experiences gathered at an earlier time. For example, it rescinds territorial limitations and provides the opportunity for rendering services even in a specific area of socialist organizations. A citizen who has the permission of the national committee can conclude a contract to rent out a service facility. A fundamental change is that the number of persons who can assist a citizen in providing services is not limited. In addition to family members, other citizens, for example, retirees or those who perform this kind of work in addition to their principal employment, etc., may help.

In contrast to previous conditions, a wider area is created for assuring citizen services. As shown by the first experiences, there is interest among citizens regarding the opportunity to provide services. However, it is not the same in all towns or okreses, and a comparison of the approach by individual national committees which permit private entrepreneurs to provide services can also be made only with difficulty. Some welcome it as an opportunity to expand the service network; others are more than careful in signing these permits.

The Required Material Is a Brake

In Pardubice Okres, a substantial number of specialists, virtually 100, were recruited to provide services to citizens. Their professions are varied—masons, roofers, seamstresses, carpenters, bicycle repair mechanics, automobile mechanics, tilers, sheet metal workers, painters, etc. Similar experiences were also recorded by the municipal national committee at Podebrady. Here, people from roughly the same professions applied for permission to provide services to their fellow citizens. Both national committees want to seek out specialists in the future who could do this work either by themselves or in some small enterprise directed by the national committee.

The greatest problem accompanying the rendering of services by private entrepreneurs is a shortage of necessary material and spare parts. A seamstress will almost always be able to obtain thread and other materials for sewing. Similarly, a painter or a mason will be able to find materials. However, a bicycle, an electrotechnical or engineering product, or even shoes, cannot be repaired without spare parts. And this even assumes that the private repairman is willing to renovate an old spare part which had long since been discarded in the repair shop as unusable. Nevertheless, it is not possible to repair discarded components perpetually.

In Larger Cities

Experiences involving the rendering of services by private entrepreneurs were collected with the aid of kraj reporters of RUDE PRAVO. Thus, for example, in North Bohemia Kraj, some 1,915 citizens are providing the necessary services (in 1982, there were 819 such persons). Applications for permits continue to mount. They involve particularly sewing and repair of garments.

and minor repair work. Permits are being sought by carpenters, auto mechanics, etc. The largest number of permits is being issued by national committees in towns with populations exceeding 10,000 inhabitants. In smaller locations, more use is generally made of the small facilities operated by national committees where artisans who would obviously otherwise be doing odd jobs are amalgamated. Now, roughly one-half of the national committees in the kraj operate small service facilities.

The majority of national committees issue permits for a limited time, for example, for 1 year. After that, an evaluation is made as to whether citizens are satisfied or not with the service and the permit is either renewed or not.

In a number of towns in South Bohemia Kraj, beauty operators repeatedly applied for permits to perform services. Some national committees saw this as an impulse to expand this service to the extent to which the requirements of the city were not fully covered. If, however, private beauticians created a limited clientele, serviced them primarily during the morning hours (this mostly involved retirees) and were not willing to perform the work in the afternoon, the national committee did not consider such a service to be of sufficient quality and rescinded the permit.

Only an Easy Source of Livelihood?

In Olomouc, some 42 seamstresses, 19 plumbers, and 12 locksmiths were providing services to their fellow citizens by the end of last year. This year, there are more than 70 applications. They have decided on 16 of them already—they involve roofing work, machine knitting, repairs and remodeling of garments, stone masonry work, and among the nontraditional services a permit was granted for renting out wind surfing equipment. However, the Olomouc National Committee is rightfully checking on those who wish to provide services. After all, applications are even made by people whose criminal records are replete with entries and who regard the rendering of services not as assistance to society, but as an opportunity to speculate and to gain an easy source of making a living.

In Banska Bystrica Okres, the service activity has expanded some over recent years but still does not even amount to the average kraj level in terms of sales. The local national committee is very careful in permitting private entrepreneurs to provide services—even overly careful. Frequently, it overlooks the fact that the okres palpably lacks, for example, facilities to repair garments, various maintenance facilities, locksmith work, brick mason or roofer work, lacks shoe repair facilities, etc. Individual communities in the okres have no barbers or hairdressers and complaints keep mounting with regard to the inadequate repair of automobiles and other industrial products.

At Rosice near Brno, there are 8,000 inhabitants. Private entrepreneurs have traditionally been providing shoe repair services, sheet metal work, brick mason and roofing work, but decidedly not to the extent required. Other people would be willing to perform these services, particularly the repair of various appliances. However, this is tied to the shortage of the necessary spare parts and materials.

For the rendering of services by private entrepreneurs, it is necessary to create the required conditions which is primarily a matter for the national committees. If they truly have an interest in satisfying the citizens in their towns and okreses, then they have no choice but to try harder.

05911

Administration, Greatest Obstacle to Cooperative Formation

24000118a Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech
13 May 88 p 3

[Interview with Eng Jiri Stastny, chief of the organizational department of the Czech Union of Production Cooperatives, by Eva Prochazkova: "Giants and Small Fish—On the Obstacles That Threaten the Path to the Origination of New Cooperatives"]

[Text] Since the proposal of the law on the nonagricultural cooperative system, there have been 200 occasions when people have knocked on the door of the Czech Union of Production Cooperatives [CSVD]. Those interested in establishing new cooperatives knocked on the door. The result—five cooperatives already in existence and perhaps five others will be established. That is not much.... We asked Eng Jiri Stastny, the head of the organizational department of the CSVD, some questions:

[Question] Is it possible that people are coming up with senseless ideas?

[Answer] If I omit the extreme cases, such as the transportation of timber from Siberia by dirigible airship, then the answer is decidedly no. But the fact remains that people approach us with relatively naive notions.

[Question] Notions regarding your unrelenting nature?

[Answer] I would not say that. But I would rather give you a few examples: We were approached by ballet dancers from the Pavel Smok School. A ballet cooperative? Why not? But they demanded subsidies amounting to kcs 1.5 million per year. These we cannot provide. Cooperatives must earn their keep! Another person wanted to produce analyzers for combustion products contained in exhaust gases—a product which we import at present—without requiring any foreign exchange. No one anywhere wanted this, and he came to us as a last resort. But he was unable to find supporters. As a result

of many years of battling institutions, however, he had gained such a lack of confidence and fear that he rejected our suggestion that he join an existing cooperative.

[Question] Who was successful in approaching you?

[Answer] There is a sufficient number of interested persons from the ranks of artists—now, for example, we are helping establish a cooperative engaged in the restoration of monuments. Other groups are interested in automobile transportation. One cooperative will soon begin operating in Karlovy Vary.

[Question] Is there no interest in traditional trades or artisan trades which are in short supply?

[Answer] The interest is minimal. Thus far, we have not been approached by any tailors, barbers, plumbers, shoemakers.... We are more readily approached by the construction trades. They need machines and mechanization—and then everyone can readily see them when they are doing odd jobs on a building. A few collectives numbering 60 to 150 people also have shown up. For the present, they are operating in an attractive cooperative mode under the heading of a JZD [unified agricultural cooperative]. However, other organizations do not want to be deprived of their profits and are placing obstacles in their way—such as insisting on the maximum permissible notice. With the new labor law, this situation should improve. The overwhelming majority of those interested in us are white-collar workers—programmers, designers, specialists in investment or counseling.

[Question] And what is preventing them?

[Answer] A number of people have no idea what is involved in managing an organization. They have solid knowledge regarding their own profession as well as accounting, but they do not consider that a cooperative, even one involving only 10 members, must fulfill all functions as an enterprise in our country. In other words, it must guarantee the payroll, take care of medical insurance, social security, wage replacements, surcharges, mandatory training, tax computation, tax payments, etc.... In brief, that giant and complicated agenda, controlled by hundreds of regulations. In enterprises, they have a large apparatus to handle these things; here, they must be mastered by two to three people. And criminal prosecution and damage indemnification lurk behind each mistake. So they will know all that awaits them and in what they will be floundering, we prefer to frighten those interested. It is not within our power to save them from this agenda. But as long as they have faith in one another, they still must prove to us that they will make a living, and will be economically self-sufficient. If their proposed plan shows at least 1 kcs of profit, we gladly give our approval.

[Question] If this is the extent of what you do for them, this is quite little. Neophytes are looking at a mass of difficulties, fights.... Will you help?

[Answer] We must if we want them to succeed. We help them compile a plan, to obtain quarters. We negotiate a bank loan in their name. But the biggest job we have involves the balance sheet. A serious problem is presented by automotive fuels. Our union has an allocation of a certain quantity, which is diminishing rather than increasing in size with the number of cooperatives. So that we are negotiating with residual sponsors.... The same is true with regard to automobiles, loaders, automotive cranes, cement, nonferrous metals.... Problems also remain regarding the manpower balance. These balances are now only orientational indicators, but several kray national committees are constantly playing the game of allocating positions and attempting to assert their former power with persistence. And why not if appropriate units continue to exist at the national committee level?

[Question] What then is the most significant obstacle which has caused so many enthusiasts to come to naught?

[Answer] The administrative apparatus. In our country, the regulations do not even take into account such small organizations. In organizations numbering 10 or 20 people, the entire agenda defies management and oversight. We are trying, within the framework of tickler cases, to get the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare and other organizations to recognize this fact to get them to take the existence of small cooperatives into account. For example, we turned to the statistical offices with a request for them to simplify recordkeeping. The effect? They rescinded one directive which was subsumed in others anyway.

[Question] It is as though I was hearing objections: Everything must be under control; everything must be documented; must be adhered to....

[Answer] But it would be entirely possible for members of cooperatives numbering up to 30 individuals to pay, say, their hospitalization insurance individually to the insurance company, to file their own income taxes—just the same as private individuals do or people who are independent. But the establishment of small cooperatives is even hindered by the wage regulations. The catalogue of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare does not consider the concept of a head of an organization numbering fewer than 50 persons—and so, the chairman of such a cooperative can be categorized, at the maximum, in Class XII. And his subordinates must be a minimum of five categories lower! Can you imagine how much a designer or a programmer with advanced school education would be earning? And for technical and economic planning work profit-sharing wages cannot be applied at all. There is much that must be changed!

[End of interview]

The internal directive which prevented the establishment of small cooperatives has been revoked since the Sixth Session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ in 1982. The requirement that worthwhile and high-quality services be involved once again forced citizens to provide services, compelled the existence of economic leasing and of small cooperatives. The CSVD anticipates a further influx of interested persons in the future. As long as the work conditions of those who offer their hands and brains to perform services do not change, there is not a great chance for success, nor for satisfaction on the part of all of us with the services rendered. Do the institutions and legislative organizations on whom this success depends realize this?

05911

Main Source of Self-Financing Discussed

24000118b Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
17 May 88 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "Principal Source of Self-Financing"]

[Text] In connection with preparations for new conditions governing the economic mechanism and the organizational arrangement of the production base, enterprises are posing themselves an urgent question—Will we be capable of financing our expansion out of internal resources; will the existing method of work be able to sustain us?

Not everywhere can they make a positive response, and so one hears even of such reminders as payments to the state budget are excessively high, price restructuring does not take the actual production conditions of the organization into account, loans are excessively costly, etc. Primarily, the experimenting enterprises are finding out that the rules are, in fact, strict. However, they are not tougher than the rules under which other producers throughout the world operate. He who manages well can create adequate resources for self-financing even while fulfilling all obligatory payments. Understandably, he must find the right sources. And where to find them?

Undoubtedly, in strict economizing, in conserving every minute of production time, every gram of raw material. Just this can substantially increase net profits in many an establishment. However, it is necessary to realize at the same time that conservation, while constituting a significant source of revenue, is not an inexhaustible source. The new economic mechanism is intended to be a mechanism of conservation, but that in itself will not suffice. New conditions stem from the assumption that the major source of revenue will be sought by organizations through innovative activity. This is the most important direction in self-financing. After all, it is not enough to be anxiously frugal with respect to every fastener used in a machine tool. This would not in and of itself bring us closer to world standards in production.

Our enterprises must primarily receive new technologies—metal forming, laser cutting of materials, electron-beam welding, etc. These are technologies which make it possible for us to attain peak levels of labor productivity. Producers will have a difficult time realizing their resources if, for example, they produce quality merchandise, but continue to do so predominantly through the use of conventional mechanical equipment at times when the major interest and maximum payments are concentrated on automated technological facilities, on unattended work sites.

Technical progress has, for the time being, not become the decisive source of revenue for the majority of organizations and, what is worse, it often looks as though they are not counting on it even for the future. For instance, it is well-known that there are substantial differences in world markets in prices between top quality and average products. Our enterprises are acting as though they are covering their eyes in this regard. Each year, we solve several thousand tasks involved in technical development at various levels and the results are frequently again only an average product or technology. Consequently, in 1986 the federal government called for reevaluating the tasks of scientific and technical development and for removal of the differences between domestic and world technical and economic levels. Where this is not possible, it is necessary to consider whether it is not more sensible to halt the solving of tasks. A recent check on the fulfillment of the above-mentioned resolution, however, found some disturbing facts. Almost one-half of the technical developmental tasks checked on call for such modest technical parameters that the resulting product will be 5 or more years behind the world level; one-fourth of them will be 10 years or more behind world levels. In some cases, it was not possible to compare the parameters with anything because a similar product is no longer being produced elsewhere in the world.

If the organizations are setting for themselves such goals in technical development, it is not surprising that technical development will not sustain them. Who is willing to pay good money for technically obsolete products? One cannot count on negative economic results being covered, as is not rarely the custom today, from public funds or from the pocketbooks of purchasers. Under self-financing conditions there is no assistance from a "rich aunt."

Occasionally, one hears objections that designers cannot set bolder goals given the current level of the components base, the obsolescence of production assets. It is a fact that conditions are not ideal, but why be complacent, why become accustomed to the fact that they cannot be better? If technical sectors cannot take on more difficult tasks, then the reasons why this is so cannot be ignored by managers from planning organizations and ministries all the way through enterprises. Each economy has only those conditions at its disposal which it creates. If one takes a look abroad to see what

successes they have achieved in technical development, it is equally worthwhile to study what they did to achieve these accomplishments and to learn a lesson for our own work from it.

Furthermore, it is not possible to blame all failures experienced in technical development in this country on inadequate conditions. For example, it is interesting that even some key technical parameters of our products frequently do not lead to the required economic results. In the past, some 196 engineering products which earned the Gold Medal at the Brno Industrial Trade Fair were examined or evaluated as products having a high technical and economic level. However, only half of these products were successfully exported to more demanding markets, and a third of them were sold abroad at prices lower than wholesale. How is this possible? The reason is simple. Thus far, enterprises have not regarded technical development as a source of economic revenue, but rather only as something fulfilling certain portions of the plan. And so, product development was endowed with demanding parameters, but they were of no interest to customers; customers did not need them, and were not even willing to pay for them. The product was a good exhibit at a fair, but constituted bad merchandise for purposes of sales. Under conditions of self-financing, however, there is no interest in any kind of technical development nor in just any kind of technical level, but only in that level which can have an economic effect.

It is well-known that development does not end with the production of a prototype. It begins with the requirements of production, and also does not end until it demonstrates the extent to which it has been successful. Throughout the world, it is a good custom for a designer to hold a drafting pen in one hand and a calculator in the other and to design the product with a view toward its economic contribution. If the proposal of an economically acceptable, technical solution is not successful, he would rather abandon that development. With equal rationality, with a view toward economic effects, consideration is given to the production of new products. It is a mistake to believe that everything which foreign firms develop, even though at a high technical level, is then actually produced by them. Only if new equipment makes it possible for them to attain the lowest possible production costs, to achieve mass production—only then do they have any hopes for realizing the product. Everywhere, development is scrutinized as to its cost, but primarily as to what it will fetch.

From the above, it is clear that under the new conditions of economic management the ABC's of self-financing begin with and continue through uninterrupted technical development. Those who not only understand this but also arrange their organizations accordingly stand to gain an inexhaustible source of revenue.

POLAND

2 Scenarios Presented in 5-Year Economic Prognosis

26000385a Warsaw

ZYCIEGOSPODARCZE in Polish No 16, 17 Apr 88 pp 1, 8, 9

[Article by Aleksander Welfe and Jacek Wymysowski: "The Market in the Years To Come: A Projection by the Institute of Econometrics and Statistics of Lodz University"]

[Text] We are presenting a forecast of the financial and market situation in the 5 years to come, as well as a study of the basic constraints and dangers to the market equilibrium and reductions in the rate of inflation. We compare the results of the projection with two scenarios which provide a reference point and serve to showcase the projection better, though they can be analyzed independently of the projection. The first one, the continuation scenario, shows what would happen had a price increase and price restructuring not taken place this year. The second scenario, that of radical changes, corresponds to such changes in the level and structure of prices which bring about a fundamental reduction in product-oriented subsidies from the state budget and a restoration of market equilibrium within 1 year¹.

Both the projection and the scenarios cover the years 1988 through 1992 and are based on a set of assumptions on the variables called exogenous, which constitute "inputs" to the model.² Assumptions on the production potential of the national economy and the resulting volume of deliveries to the [consumer goods] market are the most significant. Realistic optimism reflected in the assumed rate of growth in exogenous variables is justified by an improvement in economic performance over recent years, as well as by a more favorable situation and prospects for refinancing debt service and opportunities to secure new loans. The currently implemented second stage of the economic reform and the program of restoring market equilibrium are also important in this respect.

Consequently, it was assumed that the national income (except in agriculture and forestry) will grow at a rate of 3.5, 4, 4, 4.2 and 4.4 percent respectively in the years 1988-1992. The net industrial product will grow at very similar rates. In turn, we assumed the growth rate of net agricultural product to be somewhat lower, namely 2, 3.6, 3.4, 3.3, and 3.4 percent. The rate of growth of food deliveries to the [consumer] market amounts to between 3 and 3.3 percent, whereas of non-food items from 3 percent in 1988 to 4 percent in 1992, which is the result of assumed growth in domestic production and a limited potential for importing consumer goods.

The results of the projection are determined not only by the above assumptions concerning exogenous variables, but also by other assumptions concerning additional factors. In a situation when assumptions on production

and deliveries were not varied, this additional and differently constructed set of hypotheses was responsible for the results of the projection and scenarios being different. Thus, in keeping with the budget law passed on 21 January 1988, we assumed that nominal personal income of the populace (monetary) will grow by 50 percent in the current year. We also assumed that the operation of raising and restructuring prices and reaching the equilibrium will be spread over the next 3 years.

However, some difference is apparent in the issue of evaluating the rate of price growth this year. The overall level of prices (as measured by the indicator of the cost of living in households) will, in our opinion, grow by 49 percent. Taking into account the current financial and market situation (i.e. at the end of February), this is likely to be the lower end of the range. This will be due to three elements: the planned 27-percent price raise; the consequences of the so-called transferred price raises from 1987, which may be estimated to be about 13 to 15 percent; and the pressure to raise wages, which causes further growth of prices as specific costs of production increase.

The growth rates of all variables (including prices) quoted in the projection are based on their average level in the previous year (table 1), whereas most information of the movement on prices in 1988 in official documents is based on the level in late 1987.

In the case of non-food items (tobacco products, fabrics, clothing and footwear, consumer durables and other non-durables), differentiation in the movement of prices within individual groups, of which the aggregate consists, is also significant. We expect the prices of fabrics, clothing and footwear to go up 30 percent this year and respectively 22, 20, 16 and 13 percent in subsequent years; prices of consumer durables by 34 percent, and in 1989 through 1992 by 30, 25, 17 and 13 percent, whereas prices of other non-durables by 55 percent in the year 1988 and subsequently 34, 25, 14 and 11.5 percent.

The relatively higher growth rates of prices for food and other non-durables, as well as services (which, among other things, include stoker coal, electricity, rent and transportation) compared to others (except the prices for alcohol and hard liquor and tobacco products) are due to the necessity of eliminating subsidies from the state budget. Growing prices for food are also associated with the need to restructure prices by making food relatively more expensive compared to non-food items, especially consumer durables.

Durables, as well as fabrics, clothing and footwear, exhibit a lower growth of prices. This is due to subsidies being used to a considerably smaller degree in their case, and their production being generally profitable. Therefore, the growth of prices for these groups [of items] is due primarily to the pressure for [higher] wages and also to the suppressed impact of increases in producer good prices. However, given the lack of progress in improving

the efficiency of management at the enterprise level in future years, the latter factor may pose a significant danger and bring about prices growing beyond the thresholds mentioned. The disequilibrium in the market continuing during the years 1988-1990 is an additional inflation factor affecting especially the prices of consumer durables, as well as fabrics, clothing and footwear, despite prices for items in these groups being generally higher than their specific cost of production.

Thus, it is believed that the rates of growth in prices of consumer durables, fabrics, clothing and footwear presented in the projection have the highest margin of error. Certainly, if the growth rates of these prices were higher, it would be possible to achieve both the partial and the overall equilibrium sooner, but as a result the cost of living would grow at a rate faster than 49 percent, and the effect of restructuring would not occur (the rate of increase in food prices would be similar to that in prices of non-food items).

Real personal income of the populace (monetary) will grow by 0.6 percent in 1988, with nominal monetary income growing by 50 percent and prices by 49 percent. The growth of real income would be on the order of 1.6 percent if the growth of tobacco and alcoholic beverages were to be excluded from the cost-of-living indicator.

Overall disequilibrium (measured by the volume of forced savings) falls by 22.7 percent. This is caused by consumer demand being stabilized in 1988, and the supply of consumer goods growing by 2.2 percent. In 1989 and 1990 the indicator of the overall price growth declines, which follows from the assumption that the basic segment of the price operation will have been carried out this year. Therefore, in future years the scope of raises and price restructuring will be limited. The rate of price growth for individual groups of items gradually peters out and becomes less and less differentiated (with the exception of alcohol and alcoholic beverages). However, in the last year covered by the projection inflation still exceeds 10 percent. This results from the operation in the Polish economy of mechanisms based on a dynamic (i.e. spread over a period of time) interaction between wages and prices.

This phenomenon may be likened in a way to the operation of a flywheel which, once set in motion, cannot be stopped immediately. Thus, the fact that prices and wages (in a broader sense, income) in the past period displayed high (several dozen percent) rates of growth somehow implies that their growth over one year cannot be reduced by more than 5 to 7 points (certainly, provided that no emergency measures are taken by the state). The stabilization of demand and continuous growth of supply at a rate of 3 percent, and thus a gradual attainment of the equilibrium, are one of the reasons for the rate of inflation petering out in 2 successive years (1989, 1990). However, the growth of nominal personal income (monetary) brings about its real level growing by

Table 1

Rubric	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Personal Income of the Populace					
Nominal, billion zlotys	13,233	17,626	22,311	26,233	30,784
Change in percent	49.7	33.2	26.6	17.6	17.8
Real (change in percent)	0.6	0.3	0.4	2.0	4.2
Savings of the Populace (current year)					
Forced savings (change in percent)	-22.7	-35.2	57.3	-100.0	0.0
Coefficient of pressure on the market (1)	0.325	0.293	0.276	0.277	0.278
Change in the coefficient, in percent	-18.9	-9.8	-5.8	0.5	0.1
Demand and Supply (constant prices)					
Total demand, billion zlotys	3,768	3,768	3,768	3,826	3,968
Change in percent	0.2	0.0	0.0	1.5	3.7
Supply of consumer goods (change in percent)	2.2	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.4
Price Growth Indicators (percent)					
Total	49.0	33.3	26.5	15.5	12.7
Total, without alcohol and tobacco prices	47.3	31.6	24.8	13.7	11.2
Foodstuffs	55.0	34.5	26.6	12.5	10.3
Alcohol	65.5	50.0	40.0	25.0	20.0
Non-food items	43.5	30.0	23.9	14.9	12.1
Services	41.6	27.2	22.0	13.9	11.4

1) ratio of total savings of the populace to current personal income

0.3-0.4 percent accordingly, which entails the stabilization of demand (overall and for individual groups of items) at the 1988 level. The demand for alcohol and alcoholic beverages is an exception: in 1988 through 1990, it will decline at a rate of 4 to 5 percent, which follows from the assumed price growth in this group of items. As a result, forced savings in 1990 are relatively small, and their complete elimination occurs in 1991.

Attaining the equilibrium makes possible a 2-percent increase in real income in 1991 and a greater (4-percent) increase in 1992, which causes overall consumer supply to go up by 1.5 and 3.7 percent respectively. However, we must stress that this is "equilibrium on the blade of a knife," because conditions ensuring the stability of the equilibrium are not met. Among these conditions, we see primarily the restoration of a normal level of reserves, which does not appear possible in light of the projection presented. In addition, we should take into account many years of destabilization in the consumer goods market, as well as the inertia of consumer behavior characteristic of the period of marked disequilibrium. This is expressed through, among other things, speculative and panic demand. In such a situation, the market becomes very sensitive to all momentary shortfalls in supply, which cause panic and additional (above-the-normal) purchases. The danger also results from the shakiness of the equilibrium achieved in certain specific markets, among which we may mention consumer durables, as well as fabrics, clothing and footwear (to a lesser degree).

While we may note the gradual elimination of strains in other markets, in the market of consumer durables the situation is the most complex. The equilibrium here is attained last, and it calls for a high rate of growth in supply—4.5 percent. As additional analyses suggest, reducing this rate by 0.2 percent annually will suffice for disequilibrium to reappear in the market.

The possibility of returning to the old structure of prices poses yet another danger to market equilibrium. After all, keeping the new structure proposed in the projection calls for a profound restructuring of economic mechanisms.

In the scenario of continuation, we assumed that this year will not see any radical changes in the prices of consumer goods, and, in particular, the prices for electricity, hot water and food staples will not increase on a scale commensurate with at least partial liquidation of subsidies. In turn, we assumed that the policy of expensive alcoholic beverages aimed at restricting their consumption will be implemented. In conjunction with this, it will be possible to restrict the growth of personal income of the populace and inflation over the entire period covered by the experiment. The results of the continuation scenario are presented in table 2. We should stress that market equilibrium is achieved in this version as late as 1992, and one has reasons to believe it is going to be unstable. This is shown indirectly by the

indicator of pressure on the market (calculated as the ratio of total savings by the populace to current personal income), which is about 18 percent higher than in the projection.

The scenario of radical changes (results shown in table 3) coincides to a large degree with the government proposals submitted for a referendum in November 1987. Compared to the projection, this scenario assumes a much more profound restructuring of prices in 1988. Their total level increases by 61 percent, out of which food prices increase by 75 percent, whereas prices for non-food items by 51 percent (fabrics, clothing and footwear—30 percent, durables—32.9 percent, other non-durables—70 percent). The rapid growth of prices in the group of other non-durables and services makes possible a considerably greater reduction in subsidies from the state budget than in the projection. As early as 1989, the rate of inflation is reduced considerably and returns to the level characteristic of recent years and determined by the inertia of price and wage mechanisms.

We assume that this radical reduction in inflation is possible in this case, because the price operation in 1988 would amount to a price reform similar to the one carried out in 1982.

In subsequent years, the rate of inflation drops gradually, and in 1992 attains the level of 14.1 percent. As a result, the price increase of over 60 percent (in 1988), with the same growth of nominal monetary personal income as in the projection, amounting to 50 percent, will cause real income to drop by 6.2 percent. This causes a drop in consumer demand on a similar scale and brings about equilibrium in all groups of goods (with the exception of durables).

In 1989, equilibrium also comes to the durables market. Forced savings will also be completely eliminated. Due to a large drop in demand in 1988, its small growth is possible in 1989 without the danger of disequilibrium setting in. In the years 1990-1992, real income grows respectively at a rate of 4.4, 3.9, 3.9 percent, and consumer demand—3.8, 3.4, 3.6 percent. We should note that rapid, i.e. about 4-percent, increase in real income is a threshold value (at a given growth rate and structure of supply), crossing which will cause the emergence of unsatisfied demand. A different structure of deliveries to the market (particularly restrictions on durables) would call for an additional reduction in the growth rates of the real income of the populace.

This scenario has not been accepted by our society. This, however, has entailed the loss of many benefits. Its implementation would have ensured a more profound restructuring of prices and consumption (mainly restrictions on the consumption of alcoholic beverages and rationalization of food consumption), a more complete reduction in subsidies from the state budget in keeping

Table 2

Rubric	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Personal Income of the Populace					
Nominal, billion zlotys	11,012	13,282	15,821	18,558	21,533
Change in percent	24.6	20.6	19.1	17.3	16.0
Real (change in percent)	1.0	0.6	2.0	2.2	2.2
Savings of the Populace (current year)					
Forced savings (change in percent)	-27.6	-35.1	-36.9	-37.4	-100.0
Coefficient of pressure on the market (1)	0.372	0.354	0.341	0.332	0.328
Change in the coefficient, in percent	-7.0	-4.9	-3.9	-2.5	-1.2
Demand and Supply (constant prices)					
Total demand, billion zlotys	3,782	3,794	3,859	3,932	4,009
Changes in percent	0.6	0.3	1.7	1.9	2.0
Supply of consumer goods (changes in percent)	2.2	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.3
Price Growth Indicators (percent)					
Total	23.3	20.1	17.1	15.0	13.7
Total, without alcohol and tobacco prices	22.7	19.4	16.0	13.7	12.4
Foodstuffs	28.1	23.2	16.9	13.7	11.4
Alcohol	35.0	30.0	25.0	22.5	20.0
Non-food items	19.8	17.2	15.8	14.3	13.4
Services	17.5	15.5	14.5	13.3	12.6

1) ratio of total savings of the populace to current personal income

Table 3

Rubric	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Personal Income of the Populace					
Nominal, billion zlotys	13,259	16,509	20,373	24,550	29,050
Change in percent	50.0	24.5	23.4	20.5	18.3
Real (change in percent)	-8.2	1.6	4.4	3.9	3.9
Savings of the Populace (current year)					
Forced savings (change in percent)	-78.4	-100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Coefficient of pressure on the market (1)	0.315	0.298	0.284	0.278	0.278
Change in the coefficient, in percent	-21.4	-5.4	-4.6	-2.2	-0.5
Demand and Supply (constant prices)					
Total demand, billion zlotys	3,533	3,580	3,694	3,821	3,958
Change in percent	-8.0	0.7	3.8	3.4	3.6
Supply of consumer goods (change in percent)	2.2	3.1	3.0	3.1	3.3
Price Growth Indicators (percent)					
Total	61.0	23.0	18.6	16.3	14.1
Total, without alcohol and tobacco prices	59.7	21.1	16.8	14.5	12.6
Foodstuffs	75.0	23.2	16.4	12.9	10.6
Alcohol	80.0	40.0	30.0	25.0	20.0
Non-food items	51.0	18.8	14.4	13.2	12.1
Services	50.0	17.9	15.9	14.8	13.4

1) ratio of total savings of the populace to current personal income

with the theses of the original government draft and its later version, and a more stable and continuous equilibrium (compared to the projection presented).

Footnotes

1. Details are found in our earlier study published in the proceedings of the Institute of Econometrics and Statistics of the University of Lodz, No. 61, under the title "Projection of the Financial and Market Situation."

2. Calculations were made on the econometric model of the consumer goods market WA-3, an earlier version of which was described in, among others, B. Suchecki and A. Welfe, "Demand and Market in the Environment of Disequilibrium," PTE [State Economic Publishers], Warsaw, 1988, chapter 6.

9761

ROMANIA

Survey Finds Support for Reintegration of Economy

28000123 Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE
NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jun 88 pp 10, 12

[Article by Dragan Jovanovic: "NIN Forum: Why Against BOALs?"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Our survey revealed that two-thirds of all respondents are in favor of reintegrating BOALs, [basic organizations of associated labor] which indicates that finally the time has come to bridge the gap between previous Kardeljian ideals and present-day Yugoslav realities.

Immediately after adoption of the 1974 Constitution, that very fall, journalists and politicians began to talk about how in the Kardeljian theoretical laboratory, yet another workers' constitution was being prepared—the Associated Labor Act, soon abbreviated as the ZUR. That talk, in OALs as well, from the very outset, gained a certain "mythical" significance as the ZUR negative utopia, welcomed as a new law of socialist self-management. Even those who were responsible for providing the first interpretations of the new radicalization of self-management were not exactly clear about the idea. Namely, when the Commission for Adopting the ZUR met for the first time in Bled, this reporter, an ambitious young man, hurried to outdo my older colleague, Dragisa Boskovic, and get an exclusive interview with Albrecht Roman, who was the head of the working group for preparing the wording of the Draft Associated Labor Act.

Comrade Roman gently and courteously declined, saying that he did not know what to say, since even he was unclear about the idea of the ZUR and the BOAL.

Today, 1988, 14 years later, it appears that it is clear to everyone that the BOAL idea, as a fundamental axiom of the ZUR, has so much fragmented the Yugoslav economy that it has led the country to the brink of an anarchist-trade unionist, chaotic situation that can only be compared to archaic, destructive behavior by republican-provincial fiefs. But recently, this gap between the previous Kardeljian ideals and present-day Yugoslav realities has become smaller.

Even politicians are talking about this more openly, although the people have been grumbling for some time about the OALs. However, few people have concerned themselves with formulating and reporting what public opinion is concerning "the basic substance of the ZUR." This is why NIN decided to present, in this issue, the results of its own, admittedly superficial, survey of public opinion. At any rate, it presents the main critical comments that have recently been heard with increasing frequency, both within the political leadership and at the grass-roots level.

Thus, to the first question in the NIN survey—are there too many fragmented OALs in your vicinity—56 percent responded that too many OALs are being formed, although the satisfied minority is not negligible. However, the answers to this question show that one-fourth of the respondents are already working in integrated BOALs according to the principle of "one work organization, one BOAL," and for this reason "only" 56 percent are against fragmented BOALs.

"That is the right thing. There should be one enterprise, but not under the office of the party, like after the war; rather, it has to be left under the control of the market," says one respondent. The fact that the majority is in favor of reintegrating BOALs is evident from the second question: a full 70 percent expressed their support for reintegrating OALs, while only 23 percent were in favor of the present organization. That is even a little more than the figure for those who think that there are not too many BOALs; one could thus assume that these are respondents who work in BOALs that are well run, or those who have spent their working days in a successful OAL.

However, there are also those who, at least apparently, recall the success of the old state enterprises. A 40-year-old bricklayer from Osijek says, "I always remember how my father used to say that immediately after work we all do the work that we must. People knew who was working on what, where they worked and when they worked. Today, everyone is out to get what they can, but workers who actually do their work get the least. How would this country get by without its workers?!"

An economist, 61, from Maribor exhibits Slovene expert reasoning: "Associating BOALs will result in the attainment of greater expertise, easier deliberation. Reintegrating them would mean a reduction in various unnecessary services."

However, a driver, 55, from Slavonski Brod, shudders at the thought of this; he feels that the already endangered self-management rights would become even more jeopardized by reintegrating BOALs: "For as long as I have worked, and I have worked for 30 years, directors have always been the ones who make decisions and stipulate everything."

This is an abomination to an economist, 30, from Sarajevo as well: "Reintegration could result in an even more unjust division of power. It could lead to a concentration of power in the hands of a small number of people. I am, however, for change, but a great deal of attention has to be given to the way in which it is carried out and who is connected with whom."

The typical and prevalent opinion, however, is the one expressed for the NIN survey by Radomir Odalovic, 38, a lawyer from Niksic: "I am for change because it can't be worse than it is, and we know that old saying from Njegos: 'Small streams empty into bigger ones.' It is normal for OALs to reintegrate, because this would decrease the roundabout path into the administration."

This opinion is seconded by a machinist from Blat in a slightly more energetic, worker-like way: "There have been enough thieves! I think that with these changes such people would be eliminated and the working people would become more prominent. Because there would be fewer directors planning the work place. In my work organization, the director wanted to open up a separate OAL for information, because he wanted to hire his daughter as a journalist."

Probably one of the main reasons that motivates the respondents to support the reintegration of BOALs is the hope that with a better and more efficient organization of labor, personal income will increase. In these times of inflation, income seems to melt away from month to month. The survey in fact shows that no less than two-thirds of the respondents envisage positive effects from reintegration on the organization of labor and personal income. Half of the respondents also see an improvement in the operations of the work organization. Fewer expect that the changes will enhance the self-management rights of workers (41 percent), compared to those (36 percent) who feel that the reintegration of OALs will have no effect whatsoever on self-management rights. This was the very characteristic and profoundly sincere answer by one respondent, who said that "self-management is primarily dependent on people who work in the enterprise, be they fragmented or integrated."

Naturally, none of the respondents harbor any illusions to the effect that the reintegration of BOALs will accelerate a resolution to the crisis.

"Even the abolition of BOALs would not help, because the problems are greater than that and political in nature. Part of the problem is that the people do not work, they are licentious. There is no worker discipline, responsibility," says Ana Vujasinovic, 76, a retiree from Zadar.

A similar view is held by a farmer, 50, from Kostanjenica on the Kras: "I think that the crisis is much more profound and that it cannot be solved by these means. Let each person discharge his duty and let that be kept in mind at every moment."

The view of things held by Dura Savic, 30, a courier from Belgrade, is very favorable: "It is necessary that the immense ZUR be reexamined, my main criticism of which is that it has not permitted the firing of workers from the work place. Thus, people are unmotivated and uninterested in their work. We have to work on people, not on laws. Or at least put laws, insofar as they are passed, into effect together with people."

This message from NIN's forum should not be "additionally interpreted" other than to draw the moral that some of our future gospels should be written first and foremost to suit man.

[Box, p 12]

Associated Labor Speaks

The subject of this telephone survey was such that the composition of respondents was somewhat different from what is usually encountered in the "NIN Forum." The reintegration of BOALs is not equally intimate and interesting as an issue to all citizens. As a result, no less than 36 people who were called declined to talk ("I don't know anything about it!"), and among the 100 respondents, there were significantly fewer women (31) and people older than 55 (17) than in previous surveys.

It is necessary to recall at this point some of the unavoidable limitations of this type of survey, resulting from the fact that in Yugoslavia telephones are not uniformly accessible among the various social strata. Thus, specialists are predominant (41) in the current "NIN Forum," which is also reflected in the personal income of the respondents (51 have more than 200,000 dinars per member of the household). With respect to the fact that there are questions in the survey about reducing administration, it should be kept in mind that exactly one-half of the respondents are employed in that type of job.

The fact that more than half of the respondents (52) expressed a desire to waive the guarantee of anonymity says something about the atmosphere of free expression of opinion.

The survey was conducted by a team of permanent staff members of the Research Center of NIN: Mira Milosevic, Viljana Pivac, Snezana Alimovic, Ivana Spasic, Aleksandra Bojic, Dorde Dordevic and Ljubisa Stavic, under the leadership of Ljubomir Stojic, M.S. in Psychology.

Survey Results

1. Are there too many fragmented BOALs in your vicinity, resulting in inefficient operations?

- There are too many BOALs 56 percent
- There are not too many BOALs 17 percent
- The entire work organization is one BOAL 27 percent

2. If you could choose, would you keep the existing organization or would you opt for change, even if its outcome were unknown?

- For current organization 23 percent
- For reintegration of BOALs 70 percent
- For other change 7 percent

3. What do you think the effect of reintegrating BOALs would be:

On your personal income?

- Would increase 64 percent
- Would decrease 11 percent
- No effect 18 percent
- Don't know 7 percent

On your self-management rights?

- Would increase 41 percent
- Would decrease 16 percent
- No effect 36 percent
- Don't know 7 percent

On the organization of labor?

- Would improve 68 percent
- Would worsen 11 percent
- No effect 16 percent
- Don't know 5 percent

On the operations of work organizations?

- Would improve 54 percent
- Would worsen 15 percent
- No effect 27 percent
- Don't know 4 percent

On the functioning of the economy as a whole?

- Would improve significantly 43 percent
- Would improve, but not significantly 33 percent
- Would not improve 21 percent
- Don't know 3 percent

4. In your opinion, by how much should the number of workers in administration be reduced?

In your BOAL?

- There are not enough 7 percent
- Not necessary to reduce 23 percent
- Reduce by up to 10 percent 24 percent
- Reduce by 15 to 30 percent 26 percent
- Reduce by more than 30 percent 19 percent
- Don't know 1 percent

In the overall work organization?

- There are not enough 4 percent
- Not necessary to reduce 11 percent
- Reduce by up to 10 percent 25 percent
- Reduce by 15 to 30 percent 30 percent
- Reduce by more than 30 percent 27 percent
- Don't know 3 percent

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

12 Sept, 1988